Agreement in Dravidian Languages

Editor

B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TAMIL STUDIES

உலகத் தமிழாராய்ச்சி நிறுவனம்

AGREEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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FOREWORD

The present publication, entitled **Agreement in Dravidian Languages** is the result of a special symposium held during the 25th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists and the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Dravidian Linguistics Association. The International Institute of Tamil Studies, Chennai and the Dravidian Linguistics Association, Thiruvananthapuram were jointly organised the above celebrations during 17th to 21st June, 1997 at the premises of the International Institute of Tamil Studies.

The I.I.T.S. which was hosting the above celebrations came forward to publish the proceedings of the above symposium. Prof. B. Ramakrishna Reddy, the editor of this book, not only conducted the session successfully, but also spent his precious time in editing the papers and bringing out the laser copy of this publication.

I also thank Dr. A. Thasarathan, the then Special Research Fellow of the I.I.T.S. who helped in the preparation of an earlier laser version.

Some of the major and minor languages of the Dravidian Family viz. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Kodagu, Kota, Godi, Manda besides Sanskrit, Hindi and Oriya have found a place in this book. Subject – predicate agreement (as in Malayalam), subject and concord (as in Telugu), history and comparison of agreement system (as in Tamil), bilingual agreement (as in Tamil and Kannada) are some of the vital areas of the agreement systems in the major Dravidian Languages. Agreement system in the dialects of Tamil and other minor languages like Kodagu,

Kota, Gondi and Manda are also discussed in this book which I hope, will be a valuable reference to the student of Dravidian Linguistics.

I convey my sincere thanks to the Publication Committee which permitted to print and publish this book.

Our whole hearted appreciation is always for our **Chairman Hon'ble Minister for Education, Government of Tamil Nadu, Thiru S. Semmalai** and also to **Thiru P.A. Ramaiah I.A.S., Secretary to the Government,** Tamil Development – Culture and Hindu Religious Endowments Department and **Thiru T. Chandra Sekaran I.A.S., Special Secretary to the Government** of Tamil Development – Culture Department for their over whelmed encouragement in all the developmental efforts of this Institute.

My thanks are also to United Bind Graphics, Chennai, for the neat execution of this book.

25, November 2003 **Director**

PREFACE

The Dravidian Linguistics Association (DLA) has been holding its annual Conferences regularly in different parts of India right from its inception. The annual meet has become an important academic event in the life of the senior scholars as well as the research students. Apart from general (simultaneous) sessions, plenary talks are arranged every year under the label of Endowment Lectures. Many of these Lectures have appeared in the form of research papers in the *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* (*IJDL*).

The Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the DLA and the 25th All India Conference of Dravidian Linguists (AICDL) were held in Chennai in collaboration with the International Institute of Tamil Studies (IITS) during 17th to 21st June 1997. When the Conference was announced in late 1996, I approached Professor V.I.Subramoniam with a request to organise a Silver Jubilee Symposium on Agreement System in Dravidian languages. As it was revealed later, he was rather pessimistic and sceptical about success of the proposal. However, he had accepted the idea of conducting a theme-oriented Symposium as part of the AICDL. This provided us a shot in the arm to carry out the programme with renewed commitment.

Topic-wise contributors were identified and invitations were sent together with a general note on the theme. Most of the scholars responded with enthusiasm and presented their written papers to the Symposium. I am very grateful to each and every participant who contributed his/her research on agreement. But for their cooperation, the present volume would not have seen the light of the day. I am particularly thankful to Professor K.V. Subbarao for delivering the keynote address and to Professor R.E. Asher for contributing his paper though he could not visit India due to his prior engagements.

Many scholars, well-wishers, friends and students have guided, encouraged, helped and assisted me in

organizing the Symposium and in publishing its Proceedings in a book form. The lion's share of our indebtedness should go to Professor V.I.Subramoniam, the moving spirit of the Conference. He has extended a token honorarium to the contributors. This kind gesture on the part of the DLA and ISDL has acted as an institutional recognition to the scholars, especially for the younger ones. As always, Professor Subramoniam's team of youngsters from Thiruvananthapuram and the members of IITS, Chennai assisted all the participants to make their travel and stay comfortable at Chennai.

Dr. Ramar Ilango, the former Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Chennai deserves our special thanks. He had systematically and effectively organised the Conference involving a host of dignitaries from academics, public life, citizens and scholars.

Dr. S. Krishnamurthy, the present Director, International Institute of Tamil Studies, Chennai has extended his kind cooperation in accepting the Proceedings for publication. But for his keen interest and encouragement we would not have been able to achieve the intended goal. We are very grateful to him for his help in seeing the volume through the press.

Dr. K Rangan, Dr.V. Gnanasundaram, Dr.Panchanan Mohanty, Dr.K. Viswanatham and Dr.Amitav Choudhry shared the responsibility of organising the academic sessions of the Symposium at Chennai. I am appreciative of their interest and thankful to them all. Mr. T. Venkata Swamy assisted me both at Hyderabad and at Chennai in organising the seminar and extended his expertise in preparing the press copy of the volume.

I am thankful to my wife Professor K. Nagamma Reddy in encouraging me to organize the Symposium and to publish the volume. She and my daughter Padmini have been patient with me while I was busy with my academic pursuits.

While the magnitude and significance of Agreement Studies are realised by many linguists in recent times, the present collection of research papers on Dravidian agreement is just a beginning in the area. I am painfully aware of the fact that not even half of the existing Dravidian languages are represented in the Proceedings. In spite of our repeated enquiries, some of the scholars could not make it to contribute on the topic. There is ample scope for further research on the topic and it is expected that future research will unearth more details. However, we are pleased to bring out whatever we could manage and put it before the scholarly world for its use and assessment.

Hyderabad
15 August 2003

B. Ramakrishna Reddy
Editor

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Language Types and Agreement in South Asian Languages

K.V. SUBBARAO

I feel honoured to have been invited by Professor B.Ramakrishna Reddy and the organisers of the Dravidian Linguistics Association to present the keynote address on 'Agreement in South Asian Languages'. I regret that I could not be present here to deliver my paper in person. My dear friend Reddy gaaru graciously offered to present the address on my behalf and I am grateful to him for this. It is not a simple task to present an overview of the various aspects of agreement in South Asian languages. I shall attempt to hint at only some of the issues concerning agreement in South Asian languages. Based on the typology of agreement in South Asian languages I suggest that the already existing system of classification of languages into 'nominative-accusative' and 'ergative-absolutive' type be replaced by a simple unitary system which we shall propose following Chomsky (1995a).

Languages have been broadly classified into two types: 'nominative-accusative' and 'ergative-absolutive'. Though there is no overt reference to the occurrence of lexical case markers, this classification tacitly assumes that it is the occurrence of an ergative case marker that plays a pivotal role in this classification. When an ergative case marker occurs with the agent, the patient/theme of a transitive verb is in absolute case just as the patient/theme (subject of an intransitive verb) of an intransitive verb. The ergative subject retains the properties of subject as an antecedent to an anaphor and controller of PRO. South Asian languages exhibit three distinct patterns with regard to agreement: (i) the presence of a lexical case marker blocks agreement of an NP with the INFL of the verb in a set of languages such as Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi (ii) the presence of a lexical case marker is obligatory for

agreement of the NP with the INFL of the verb in the other set of languages such as Kurmali, Maithili etc., and, (iii) the presence or absence of an agreement marker is of no consequence for agreement in languages such as Mizo, Hmar, Paite etc., This indicates that the presence or absence of a lexical case marker vis a vis agreement is parametric and hence, cannot be treated as a universal. Thus, any classification which explicitly relies on the overt presence or absence of a lexical case marker vis a vis agreement may not be a proper universal characterisation of a phenomenon. We propose following Chomsky (1995a) that the 'two-way system' of classification of languages into nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive be dispensed with and NPs be associated with "active"[1] agr phrases. Under the proposal made here whether an NP triggers agreement or not does not depend on whether it is lexically case-marked or not. Rather, it depends on whether an agr phrase such as agr_s, agr_o, agr_{io} is "active" or "inert"/"dormant". We therefore propose that the existing classification of nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive be replaced by a simple unitary system as in (1) below

(1)

A noun phrase whether lexically case-marked or not agrees with the verb if the functional head agr with which it is coindexed is "active" and "strong". Agreement is not morphologically manifested and is "covert" if the functional head agr is "inert" and "weak".

Schematically

[sNP_x NP_y Agr_x - Agr_y - T-Vs]

[+/- lexically case-marked] [+/- lexically case - marked]

[+/- "active"]

[Order of agr_y, agr_x, T and V irrelevant].

---

[1] In the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995a) agreement markers are functional heads and check the case of noun phrases in a spec-head relationship.

NP_x is the NP of S. NP_y may be a complement of the verb or may be an adjunct if the verb is intransitive. The verb may thus exhibit agreement with the subject or a non-subject, which could be a direct object or an indirect object or an oblique object or an object of a genitive.

We attempt to provide a typology of agreement in South Asian languages while providing evidence in support of the proposal made in (1) above.

First, we provide evidence to show that an NP may be case-marked nominative and still may not be able to trigger agreement as agr_s is not "active" but "inert" or "weak" in that sentence. In (2) and (3) below from Maithili, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Bihar, the verb exhibits two distinct types of agreement patterns.

Maithili

Subject - verb agreement: AGR_s active (Subject active)

(2) *o_i ahānk gām mE gela chāl $āha_i$*
he your village LOC go AUX+PAST AGR
HON HON PAST HON
'He went to your village'

(Singh 1979:257)

GEN (of phrase) and verb agreement : AGR gen active-Subject dormant

(3) *ham $ahānk_i$ gām mE gela chāl $ahun_i$*
I your village LOC go AUX+PAST AGR
HON HON HON
'I went to your village'

(Singh 1979:256)

In (2) the subject agrees with the INFL and in (3) there is no subject-verb agreement and the verb agrees with the GEN phrase of an adverb. In the conventional 'two-way' system subject-verb agreement in (2) comes under the nominative-accusative type of languages as the subject is in the nominative case and the intransitive verb agrees

with the subject. Sentence (3) cannot be explained in the conventional system as the subject is in the nominative case and the verb exhibits agreement with a genitival phrase modifying an adverb of goal and not with the subject. Thus, the conventional 'two-way' system fails to explain the phenomenon of agreement in (3). Under the proposal made in (1) the explanation for agreement is simple and straight forward. In (2) the subject NP is in the nominative case and agr is "active" as well as "strong" (Chomsky 1995a).

In (3) the subject NP is in the nominative case and the verb is intransitive. The verb does not agree with the subject as agr_s is "inert" and "weak". It is the agr_{gen} that is "strong" and hence, the verb agrees with the genitival modifier. Thus, under the proposal made in (1) sentences such as (3) can neatly be explained and the conventional 'two-way' system which is inadequate can be dispensed with.[2]

Let us consider a case from Kurmali, an Indo-Aryan language spoken in Bihar, in which the verb agrees with the subject as well as an IO which is lexically case-marked by a dative postposition.

Kurmali

(4) ***tor betā- tā- y**$_i$* *okhar betī - ti - ke$_j$ ektan kitāb -*
your son DEF NOM their daughter DEF DAT one book
ACC del - I - e$_i$ - i$_j$
give PST IIISG IIISG

'Your son gave a book to their daughter' (Mahto 1989:90)

In (4) the subject is in the nominative case and is case-marked by the nominative case marker -y. The indirect

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[2] We've argued elsewhere (Subbarao, 1998) such genitival NPs which trigger agreement in a sec-head relation for case checking are narrowly L-related (Chomsky 1995a, b, Ura 1993).

object *betī* 'daughter' is lexically case-marked by the dative case marker *ke.* In the 'two-way' classification system there is no way to account for the agreement of IO with the verb as the sentence belongs to the nominative-accusative type and in this type the verb cannot exhibit agreement with a constituent other than the subject if at all the language exhibits agreement. In the system that is proposed in (1), the explanation is simple and straightforward. The verb agrees with the IO as agr_{IO} is "active" and "strong". The verb agrees with the subject too as agr_s is "active" and "strong".

We shall now consider the case of sentences, which have conventionally been treated as instances of morphological ergativity. In these languages an ergative case marker overtly occurs with the subject and the verb agrees only with the subject and not with any other constituent in the sentence. The occurrence of an ergative marker has no morphological consequences at all. Assamese, an Indo-Aryan language, is morphologically ergative and hence, the verb agrees with the subject alone.

Assamese

(5) *mO-ej* *sualizOnik* *dekhisil-uNi*
I ERG girl ACC saw I SG
'I saw the girl' (Chowdhary 1991:32)

In the 'two-way system' this sentence is explained as follows: From the point of view of the occurrence of the ergative marker it should belong to the ergative-absolutive system but from the point of view of agreement it belongs to the nominative-accusative system. In this system there appears to be discrepancy between the occurrence of the ergative marker and its syntactic consequences.

The suggestion made in (1) provides a consistent explanation. Though there is an ergative case marker with

the subject, agr_s is "active" and "strong" and hence, the verb agrees with the subject.

Languages such as Mizo, Hmar, Paite which belong to the Tibeto-Burman family, exhibit split ergativity in person. When the DO/IO is in I or II person, Hmar exhibits ergative-absolutive pattern as well as nominative-accusative pattern.

Hmar

(6) *lali$_i$-n pro$_j$ a$_i$ -mi$_j$- hmu*
Lali ERG IIISG ISG met
'Lali met me'

Hmar is a heavy pro drop language. Since the verb is transitive, the ergative case marker occurs with the subject *Lali.* The verb agrees with the subject and hence, has the subject agreement marker *a* -thus exhibiting the nominative-accusative pattern. It also carries the object agreement marker thus exhibiting an ergative-absolutive pattern. According to the analysis suggested here in (1) both agr_s and agr_{io} are "active" and "strong" and hence, there are subject as well as object agreement markers. The 'two-way system' fails to provide such a neat explanation.

Let us now consider the case of subject and object agreement in Mizo, a sister language of Hmar. In Mizo the subject agreement marker does not occur when the subject is in III person and the object is in I person as in (7) below whereas it does occur when the object is in II person as in (8) below.

Mizo

(7) *lali$_i$ -n*	*pro$_j$*	*ϕ$_i$-*	*mi$_j$ -*	*hmu*
Lali	ERG	III SG	ISG	met
'Lali met me'				
(8) *lali$_i$ –n*	*pro$_j$*	*a$_i$*	*- hmu*	*- ce$_j$*
Lali	ERG	III SG	met	II SG

'Lali met you'

(9) *zova- n_i pro_j a_i - hmu - ce_j*
Zova ERG III SG met II SG
'Zova met you'

(Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy ms.)

Aimol

(10) pro_i pro_j $n\partial_j$- yet-m∂ - $king_i$
IISG know NEG ISG
'I don't know you' (Singh 1995;142)

The question that arises is; How does one account for the absence of the III person subject agreement marker in (7) and the presence of the III person subject agreement marker in (8)? The 'two-way system' fails to explain this phenomenon as both (7) and (8) belong to the ergative-absolutive type and the anomalous behaviour of the III person agreement marker is unexplainable. In the system proposed in (1) the explanation is as follows. III person Agr_s is "weak" and "inert" when the object is in I person whereas it is "active" and "strong" elsewhere.

Our proposal is also helpful when we compare Hmar and Mizo agreement patterns. In Hmar agr_s is uniformly "active" and "strong" whereas in Mizo it is not and there is a single case where it is "weak" and "inert" as in (7) above.

In sentence (9) from Mizo and (10) from Anmol the verb exhibits subject as well as object agreement and it can be accounted for by the proposal made in (1) in the same fashion as it was done in the case of sentence (8).

We shall now consider the case of agreement in Mundari, an Ausro-Asiatic language spoken in Bihar. The pronominal clitic of the *for* dative clitisises onto the verb.

Mundari

(11) *soma-nang$_{gen}$* *naki?-* *ny* *kiring* *-a-* *i?-* *a*
Soma for comb buy BEN IIISG PRED IIISG
ISG
'I bought a comb for Soma' (Osada 1992)

Sentence (11) cannot be accounted for in either of the types of the 'two-way system'. It is conceivable that when the ergative suffix occurs with the subject, an argument in absolute case may trigger agreement. Mundari does not come under the ergative-absolute type as it does not have an ergative marker. It does not come under the nominative-accusative type because in this type it is expected that the subject controls agreement and in (11) the verb agrees with a for dative. That is, agr_{io} is "active". Under our current suggestion, sentence (2) of Maithili and (11) of Mundari can be accounted for in the following way: AGR_s is "active". The question of the subject on the DO in (11). Before we proceed further a brief comment on Mundari agreement is in order. My comments are based on Osada (1992), which presents an excellent description of Mundari in atheoretical terms.

Mundari like most other Indian languages is a pro-drop language. When the object is prodropped in a sentence such as (12), the subject clitic occurs with the verb.

Mundari

(12) *pro$_i$* *jom -* *ke -* *d -* *m$_i$*
eat ASPECT PRED II SG
'You ate it' (Osada 1992:62)

Sentence (12) shows that it is the agr_s which is 'active' and therefore, subject agreement occurs with the verb. Under the Minimalist Program, '....... Agr consists of strong features that force raising' (Chomsky 1995a:351).

Chomsky rightly raises the question: 'Where does Agr appear?' (Chomsky 1995a: 349). When Agr is strong, it is phonetically realized and it induces raising of '..... V (Verb-KVS) and T (Tense-KVS) by adjunction, DP by substitution in (Spec. Agr)' (Chomsky 1995a: 349). In (12) where the subject agrees with the verb, we can say that agr_s is "strong" and therefore, the DP subject moves to (Spec Agr_s) for case checking just as the subject NP in other languages does. But, how does one explain the cliticisation of the subject clitic in Mundari in sentences of the type (11)? Under the Clitic 2 Phenomenon alluded to above, the subject clitic in Mundari cliticizes onto the **second constituent** irrespective of the fact whether it (the second constituent) is an object or a question word or an adverb or a negative or a COMP. One cannot argue that the subject clitic is not an agreement marker because the same clitic does occur with the verb as (12) illustrates. One way to account for the occurrence of clitic 2 Phenomenon is to have a spec position to the right of DO/IO/NEG/COMP/Adverb, which hosts this clitic. The next question that arises is: How is case checking done by a functional head such as agr_{io} in that specific configuration? We argue elsewhere (Subbarao 1998), that agr_{do}, agr_{io} and agr_{gen} should be included as functional heads to account for the data in languages such as Mizo, Hmar, and Aimol. Under our suggestion the occurrence of agreement markers can be neatly accounted for as agr_s as well as $agr_{o/io}$ are both "active" and hence, two agreement markers. Case checking is taken care of agr_s and agr_{io} by the functional heads.

Let us consider data from Marathi, which provides further support to our suggestion. In Marathi, in the perfective sentence, the verb agrees with the subject.

Marathi

(13) *tu* *jab* *ache-* *si*
you go IMP AuX II SG
'You (Masculine Reference) are going'
(Gair and Wali 1998)

However, in the perfective sentence, in the III person when the subject is followed by an ergative marker *ni*, just as in Hindi-Urdu, the verb exhibits agreement with the object which is in the 'absolute' case.

(14)	*tyāni*$_i$	*kavitā*$_j$	*vāc - l*	*i*$_{i,j}$
	he-ERG	poem	read - PERF	agr
	MASC	FEM	FEM	
			IISG	

'He read a poem.'

(Gair and Wali 1988)

However, with I person subject, the ergative marker does not occur but the verb exhibits agreement with the object in the absolute case.

(15)	*mi*$_j$	*Φ*	*kavitā*$_j$	*vāc* -	*l* -	*i*$_j$
	I	ERG	poem	read -	PERF	agr
		MASC	FEM		FEM	
					III SG	

'I read a poem'.

(Gair and Wali 1988)

When the subject is in II person and verb in the perfective, both subject and object control agreement. The ergative marker is not present.

(16)	*tu*$_i$	*Φ*	*kavitā*$_j$	*vacc* -	*l* -	*i*$_j$ -	*s*$_i$
	you	ERG	Poem	read	PERF	FEM	IISG
						SG	

'You read the poem'

(Gair and Wali 1998)

(The glosses have slightly been modified).

Though the ergative marker *ni* is not overtly present, the verb exhibits the ergative - absolute type agreement on the one hand, and the nominative-accusative type agreement on the other hand. That is agr_s, as well as agr_o are both 'active' in sentences with II person subject and the verb in the perfective. Needless to mention, the 'two-way system' of classification of sentence types is

inadequate as it fails to account for the agreement of an object noun phrase with the verb when there is no overt ergative marker.

Such double agreement patterns (Gair and Wali 1988 refer to them as split agreement) are also found in Marwari, a dialect of Hindi belonging to the Rajasthani group. 'In Marwari transitive perfective sentences, the main (perfective) verb agrees with the object, as in Hindi and Marathi, although the accusative postposition (*ne*- Hindi *ko*, Marathi *la*) does not block agreement. The tensed present auxiliary, however, agrees with the subject' (Gair and Wali 1988).

Marwari

(17) *mha̧ ĩ*$_i$	*siitā-ne*$_j$	*dekh* -	*ĩ*$_j$	*hū̧*$_i$
I	Sita obj FEM	saw -	PERF FEM	AUX-PRES I SG

'I have seen Sita."

(Gair and Wali 1988)

(Coindexing has been added to transcription)

Sentence (17) is hard to explain in the 'two-way system' since there is object agreement though there is no overt ergative marker. Sentence (17) finds a simple and straight forward explanation in the proposal made in here. In this sentence AGRs as well as agr_s and agr_o are both 'active' like in Mizo except for the absence of the ergative marker as in sentence (16) in Marathi.

A specific NP might be 'dormant' in a sentence in terms of agreement though it occurs in the subject position and though the language exhibits 'nominative-accusative' pattern of agreement otherwise. In such cases Case Checking of an NP with a functional head takes place at LF. There could be some other NP other than the subject that is 'active' or strong as a result of which only the 'active' NP agrees with INFL and in such cases Case

checking of an NP with a functional head takes place before Spell-out (Chomsky 1995b).

In Mizo when the DO/IO is in I person, it gets precedence over any other NP in terms of agreement. The clitic of DO/IO occupies the position to the left of the verb which is the canonical position for the subject agreement marker otherwise. That is, II and III person subject agreement markers are 'suppressed' and I person DO/IO agreement marker takes precedence over them. The reason for suppression of agreement of an NP with INFL is due to pronominal strength hierarchy (see Subbarao & Lalitha Murthy 1994).

Mizo

(18) *zovi-*	*n*	*Pro*$_i$	*Φ -*	*min*$_i$ *-*	*hria*
Zovi	ERG		IIISG	ISG	knows

'Zovi knows me'

(19) *lali -*	*ni*	*pro*$_j$	*lekhabu*$_k$	*Φ -*	*min*$_j$	*pek*
Lali	EFG		book	IIISG	I SG	gave

'Lali gave the book to me'

In (18) and (19) the subject clitic is marked Φ. Since I person direct object and indirect object are 'stronger' than II and III person subjects in terms of pronominal strength hierarchy, they agree with the verb. Theses sentences are neatly accounted for under the system proposed here. In sentences of the type (18) and (19) agr$_s$ is 'dormant' or 'weak' and only object agrees with the verb in such cases i.e. agr$_{do}$ or agr$_{io}$ are strong and 'active'.

The role that NPs with lexical case markers play in triggering agreement or not is language specific and thus, parametric. While in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi, an NP followed by a lexical case marker fails to trigger agreement, in Kurmali and Maithili. NPs which are followed by a lexical case marker are the only eligible

candidates for triggering agreement. That is, whether an NP is 'active' or 'inert' depends on the presence or absence of appositions in specific languages and in some languages it has no effect. In Hindi- Urdu, the presence of a lexical case marker blocks agreements.

Hindi-Urdu

(20) *rām$_i$ ne kitāb$_j$ paṛh - ī$_j$*
Ram ERG book read PERF
MASC FEM FEM
'Ram read a book'

(21) *rām$_i$ ne us kittab$_j$ ko nahii paṛh ā$_{*i/*j}$*
Ram ERG that book SPECIFI- not read PERF
MASC FEM CITY MASC
MARKER
'Ram did not read that book'

(22) *rājesh$_i$ ne ramyā$_j$ ko kitāb$_k$ bhej- ī$_k$*
Rajesh ERG Ramya DAT book send PERF
MASC FEM FEM FEM
'Rajesh sent a book to Ramya'

In (20) the verb in perfect aspect agrees with the direct object *kitaab* 'book' (feminine). In (21) as the DO is followed by a lexical case marker *ko* which marks the NP for specificity (Mahajan 1990), the verb exhibits 'default' agreement, that is, it is masculine singular which is unmarked. In (22) the IO is *ramyā* and it is followed by the dative case marker *ko*. Thus, the IO cannot trigger agreement. The verb agrees with the DO *kitāb* which is feminine singular. Just as in Hindi-Urdu and Marathi, in Punjabi too the verb exhibits 'default' agreement when the DO is lexically case-marked.

Pubjabi

(23) *mai*$_i$	*Φ*	*kuṛī*$_j$	*nu*	*vekh*	*-yā *i*j*
I	ERG	girl	SPECIFI CITY MARKER	see	PERF MASC

'I saw the girl'

(24) *tussī*$_i$	*Φ*	*kuṛī*$_j$	*nu*	*vekh -*	*yā *i*j*
you	EFG	girl	SPECIFI CITY MARKER	see	PERF MASC

'You saw the girl'

(25) *unā*$_i$	*nu*	*kuṛī*$_j$	*nu*	*vekh -*	*yā/*i*j*
he/she MASC/FEM	ERG	girl FEM	SPECIFI CITY MARKER	see	PERF MASC

'He/she saw the girl'

In contrast in Kurmali and Maithili an argument does not agree with the verb unless it is followed by a lexical case marker.

Kurmali

(26) *tor betā*	*- tā - y*$_i$	*okhar*	*betī-ti-ke*$_j$	*mār-l*	*e*$_i$ *- i*$_j$
yourson	DEF NOM	their	daughter DEF	beat ACC IIISG	PST IIISG

'Your son beat their daughter'

(Mahto, 1989)

Since the direct object NP *betī* is lexically case-marked, it can trigger agreement. The modifier of an NP can potentially trigger agreement. The modifier NP of the object in (26), however, cannot participate in triggering agreement because DO, which is an argument, takes

precedence over a genitival modifier and is 'stronger' for the purpose of agreement.

However, if the DO is not lexically case-marked, it cannot trigger agreement and the modifier of the DO trigger agreement because the modifier has the genitive in it.

Kurmali

(27) *tor* ***betā*** *- tā - yi* ***okhar$_j$*** *betī -ti - Φ maar-* i
your son DEF NOM their daughter DEF beat
de - i - ei -in$_j$ ACC
give PST IIISG IIIPL
'Your (SG) son beat their daughter' (Mahto 1989)

Since the DO is not lexically case-marked, the modifier *okhar* 'their' of the DO triggers agreement.

South Asian languages have a variety of non-nominative subject (ergative, dative subject, genitive subject, locative subject, instrumental subject) constructions in which the logical subject is followed by a non-nominative lexical case marker. It is this lexical case marker that blocks agreement between the logical subject and INFL. The subject in the non-nominative case exhibits all the properties of a subject such an antecedent to an anaphor, controller of PRO in infinitival clauses and conjunctive participle constructions etc., except for agreement. An analysis of aspects of the syntax of South Asian languages in any framework has to devise a mechanism to account for this seemingly contradictory anomalous situation. Unless the NP that controls agreement is in a Spec relation of a functional head (agr_s, agr_o, agr_{io}) at the time of case checking, agreement with that NP cannot be checked (Chomsky 1995a). In Chomsky (1995 b), AGR phrases have been dispensed with and verb agreement takes place between an NP and a light verb v in the VP shell where V adjoins the light verb v. Koizumi (1995) proposes Split VP hypothesis where VP is divided

into upper VP and lower VP. The subject of 'transitive clauses and un-ergative clauses originates in the Spec of the upper VP '(Koizumi 1995:101) and the V of lower VP is 'an event - denoting 'un-accusative' verb such as *arrive* in *Mary arrived* (Koizumi 1995:101). Davison (1997) following Koizumi's Split VP hypothesis attempts to explain why there can be object agreement in ergative-absolute construction but subject binding. It'd be worth exploring whether Chomsky's light verb proposal or Koizumi's Split VP hypothesis will be able to account for the various agreement patterns that are present in South Asian languages. It is conceivable that agr_{DO}, agr_{IO} and agr_{OO} phrase might be needed as functional heads to account for the data from South Asian languages (Subbarao 1998).

The occurrence of a verbal self-benefactive or a verbal reflexive/reciprocal in a predicate is *subject-oriented* in some Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman languages (Subbarao & Lalitha Murthy 1997 and Lalitha Murthy & Subbarao 1997).

One of the questions that arises is whether such markers can be treated as agreement markers in a broader perspective of the notion of agreement (K.V. Tirumalesh pc). The act that a language such as Malayalam that lacks phi features also lacks a verbal reflexive/reciprocal is significant. Some of the Tibeto-Burman languages that lack of features also lack a verbal reflexive or reciprocal. Manipuri and Angami belonging to the Tibeto-Burman language family do not exhibit subject-verb agreement. However, they have a verbal reflexive/ reciprocal. The question that arises is: Is there any correlation between overt agreement markers and the verbal reflexive/reciprocal? Keeping these facts in view, it would be worth investigating if there is a correlation, if any, between the overt occurrence of the subject agreement marker vis a vis the overt occurrence of reflexive/reciprocal.

To show that a verbal reflexive/reciprocal is subject-oriented we present evidence from Telugu. In Telugu there is a nominal device as well as a verbal device available for lexical anaphors. The verbal reflexive/reciprocal (VR) *kon* occurs with the verb when the anaphor occurs with a nominative subject. In a dative subject construction the verbal reflexive/reciprocal cannot occur (Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy 1998). The reason for the non-occurrence of the VR is that the VR is subject oriented. This constitutes the first piece of evidence.

The second piece of evidence comes from the fact that a VR cannot occur when the anaphor is co-indexed with an antecedent which is not a subject.

Telugu

(28) *kamala*$_i$ *tana ni tanu*$_i$ *pogu'u kon*$_i$ *di*$_i$
Kamala self ACC Self praise VR PST
'Kamala praised herself'

(29) * *mādhavi*$_i$ *nannu*$_j$ *nannu nākē*$_j$ *gurutu cēsu kon*$_j$ *di*$_j$
Madhavi me self made (me) remember
'Madhavi made me remember myself'

(30) *mādhavi*$_i$ *nannu*$_j$ *nannu nākē*$_j$ *gurtu cēs-in-di*$_i$
Madhavi me self made (me) remember
'Madhavi mde me remember myself'

In (28) the verbal reflexive and the reduplicated anaphor are co-indexed with a commanding antecedent. In (29) the verbal reflexive is co-indexed with a reduplicated anaphor, which is not the subject. Since the verbal reflexive is subject-oriented, (29) is ungrammatical. (30) is grammatical because the VR is absent in which the anaphor is co-indexed with a non-subject. Thus, the verbal reflexive behaves like an agreement marker.

Mahajan (1997) mentions the correlation between ergativity and word order as discussed in Schwartz (1972) and Trask (1979).

(a) "Ergative case marking patterns are found only in verb peripheral languages (within SOV and VSO languages). Verb medial (SVO) languages are never ergative (cf. Schwartz 1972, Trask 1979)". (Mahajan 1997:38).

Mahajan (1997) proposes another correlation:

(b) "A lexically distinct form of verb *have* is generally missing in verb peripheral languages. That is, verb *have* is generally confined to SVO languages." (Mahajan 1997:38).

There appears to be counter-evidence against Mahajan's claim. Tibeto-Burman languages such as Mizo, Hmar, Aimol are split ergative languages in person and they are all SOV. This fact is neatly accounted for by Mahajan's claim in (a).

However, Mizo, Hmar and Aimol have three forms of verb 'be'. In Mizo and Hmar *ni* is copula 'be', *om* is 'be' denoting location and *nei* is 'have'. Mahajan's argument that a PP from subject 'incorporates' into the verb to yeild 'have' in nonergative languages such as French cannot hold for Mozo, Hmar and Aimol as they have an ergative case marker as well as a verb for 'have'. Thus, Mizo, Hmar and Aimol do not conform to Mahajan's claim in (b). Furhter research needs to be done on this issue.

In contact situations it is the case that the function of a functional category such as agr of a language 'converges' with the agr of a language belonging to another family. The case in point concerns agreement in Manda, a Dravidian language, spoken in areas where Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic languages and the Indo-Aryan Oriya are spoken (Ramakrishna Reddy 1980, 1991). Such

convergence, we shall see, has implications for the nature of syntactic change.

There are some Dravidian non-literary languages spoken in the northern part of India, where the dominant languages are either Indo-Aryan languages and/or Austro-Asiatic languages. To demonstrate how agreement between languages belonging to different language groups takes place in contact situations, we consider the case of Manda, a Dravidian non-literary language, which has been in contact with Austro-Asiatic languages such as Parengi (Gorum) and Desia Oriya of the Indo-Aryan languages family (Ramakrishna Reddy 1991).

We observed that in Dravidian languages, there is only subject-verb agreement whereas in Austro-Asiatic languages, the verb exhibits agreement with direct object, indirect object and oblique object. Ramakrishna Reddy (1991) provides data from Manda to demonstrate that Manda verb agrees not only with the subject but also with the DO, IO, OO (Locative), *for* dative and with the dative subject. Such agreement is untypical of Dravidian languages. The following examples from Manda are illustrative. (The glosses have been modified)

Manda

Agreement of Direct Object

(31) *sanātan$_i$* ***maŋka$_j$*** *huṛ - da$_j$ -t -un$_i$*
Sanatan us see IPL- Past IIISG
'Sanatan saw us'

Agreement of Indirect Object:
(32) *evan$_i$* ***maŋka$_j$*** *ru katak$_k$ ves$_j$- sa -t - ir$_i$*
they us one story tell IPL PST IIIPL
'They told us a story'

Agreememt of OO (Locative):

(33)	*inelin*	*māi*	*dengata*	*pīyu*	*rī-*	*dai*	*-t*	*-ij*
	yesterday	us	on	rain	rain	IPL	PST	IIISG

'It rained on us yesterday'

Agreement of **for** Dative NP:

(34)	*eveni*	*proj*	*il*	*je-*	*taj*	*-n*	*-uni*
	he	for us	house	open	IPL	FU TURE	IISG

'He will open the door for me/us/you'

Agreement of the Dative Subject:

(35)	*nin-kai*	*numerj*	*ah-*	*tai*	*-n -*	*ba*
	you-to	fever	catch	IISG	NON PAST	PROG

'You got fever.' (Ramakrishna Reddy 1991)

Note that in (35) the verb does not agree with the noun phrase *nuumer* 'fever' in the nominative case. Instead it agrees with a lexically case marked dative subject. Since Dravidian literary languages do not have agreement of a non-subject with a verb and since it is the Munda languages, which do, Ramakrishna Reddy convincingly argues that it is Munda influence on Manda.

The agreement patterns of Manda demonstrate that convergence of functional categories such as agr, quotative can take place in language contact situations. That is, functional categories such as agr and COMP syntactically converge.

Negative in some of the South Asian languages functions like a verb and exhibits phi features of AGR. Such occurrence of a negative provides evidence for treating negative as a functional head NEG phrase. It appears that only those languages can have negative as a verb which have subject-verb agreement. The converse however is not true as languages such as Hindi-Urdu, Punjabi exhibit subject verb agreement but do not have negative as a verb. The occurrence of a negative manifesting agreement feature has implications for the

occurrence of negative participles and reduplicated negative conjunctive participles (Lalitha Murhty 1993).

Another issue worth exploring is the connection, if any, between the loss of gender feature in agreement and loss of ergativity in a language (Prem Singh pc). It appears that in several eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Nepali, Assamese, Bengali, Oriya and several dialects of Eastern Hindi, the loss of gender as a feature of agreement resulted in the loss of ergativity. In Bengali the ergative marker occurs as a nominative marker in just one instance involving a reciprocal.

Bengali

(36) *shashuṛi*	*bou-*	*e*	*jhOgṛa khorche*
mother-in-law	daughter-in-law	NOM MKR	are fighting

'The mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law are fighting with each other'.

The loss of engativity resulted in the reanalysis of the ergative marker as a nominative marker in some Tibeto-Burman languages in all persons and in some persons.

Another issue worth examining is, if there is hierarchy of the agr phrases? It appears that non-sub-categorized arguments in a language can trigger agreement if and only if sub-categorized arguments can. This hierarchy can be explained in terms of the thematic grid of a predicate or in terms of grammatical relations. The hierarchy of agr phrases appears to be:

$agr_s > agr_{do} > agr_{io} > agr_{oo} > agr_{gen}$

The hierarchy has to be worked out based on data from a wide variety of languages. For example, Nepali, an Indo-Aryan language, exhibits nominative-accusative pattern where the verb agrees with the subject though there is an ergative marker with the subject. That is,

Nepali is morphologically ergative but not syntactically. However, in the passive, the verb exhibits agreement with the oblique subject NP followed by the lexical case marker *bāꝗo* 'by' as in (37) or with the grammatical subject of the passive sentence *bewuli* 'bride' which is in the nominative case as in (38).

Nepali

(37)	*bewulāi bāꝗo*	*bewuli*	*ucāliy- Oi*
	bridegroom by	bride	was lifted
	MASC SG	FEM SG	MASC SG
	'The bride was lifted by the bridegroom'		

(38)	*bewulā bā ꝗo*	*bewulik*	*ucāliy- īk*
	bridegroom by	bride	was lifted
	MASC SG	FEM SG	MASC SG
	'The bride was lifted by the bridegroom'		

(Subbarao, fieldnotes)

In the 'two-way system' of classification sentence (37) cannot be accounted for as the verb agrees with an NP followed by *by*, In the system proposed herein an NP which is an adpositional phrase may or may not trigger agreement.

Some South Asian languages exhibit agreement of infinitivals and participles like in Portuguese. There is long-distance agreement too in some South Asian languages such as Hindi, (Davison 1991), Mizo (Lalitha Murhty & Subbarao to appear), Hmar (Subbarao 1998) Kashmiri (Wali & Koul 1996), Kurmali (Mahto 1989) and Telugu (Subbarao 1991).

Hindi-Urdu

(39)	*mujhe (PRO*	*sāikal$_i$ calā*	*-nī$_i$)*	*ā-*	*tī$_i$*	*hai*
	I-DAT	bicycle ride	INF	come	IMPF	is
	ISG	FEM	FEM		FEM	IIISG
		SG	SG		SG	

'I know how to ride a bicycle'

(Davison 1991)

Punjabi

(40)	*mādhuri*	*nu*	*(PRO sāikal$_i$*	*calā*	*-$_i$i)*	*ā-ndii$_i$*	*e*
	Mad-huri	DAT	bicycle	ride	INF	come IMPF	is
	III SG		FEM		FEM	FEM	IIISG
			SG		SG	SG	

'Madhuri knows how to ride a bicycle.'

In (39) and (40) the matrix verb exhibits agreement with an embedded object *sāikil* 'bicycle' which is feminine. In Mizo too the matrix verb exhibits agreement with embedded subject.

Mizo

(41)	*zovi$_i$*	*-n*	*pro$_j$*	*lekhathOn*	*ɸ-ziak*	*turin*	*min$_j$*	*-duh*
	Zovi	ERG		letter	write	COMP	III SG	wants

'Zovi wants me to write a letter.'

(Subbarao and Lalitha Murthy forthcoming)

In (41) the pronominal clitic *min* 'me' of the embedded sentence occurs with the matrix verb.

The study of agreement has implications for blocking effects in long-distance anaphora too (Jayaseelan 1998).

Another issue that concerns agreement is the phenomenon of pro drop in South Asian languages. Most

of the South Asian languages have a rich subject - verb agreement. They permit not only subject pro drop but also DO, IO and OO pro drop. However, a language such as Angami does not permit pro drop in a matrix sentence, as the subject is not recoverable. It permits pro drop of only the embedded subject, just as in Chinese, because it is 'recoverable' (Subbarao and Kevichusa in preparation).

Another feature of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages is that honorificity is manifested as plural agreement marker on the verb. It would be worth investigating the pragmatic and syntactic implications of this phenomenon.

In this brief address while proposing an explanatorily adequate analysis of the phenomenon of agreement in South Asian languages, I attempted to focus upon a variety of issues that concern agreement and presented solutions provided by the scholars working in the field. Each of these issues requires further indepth investigation. The South Asian linguistic area provides an excellent opportunity for such investigations. This is a subcontinent where hundreds of languages from the four different language families are spoken and there is on going process of convergence due to language contact. For a linguist with a good theoretical background, the subcontinent is a linguistic heaven. As I argued elsewhere (Subbarao and Saxena 1987, Subbarao 1997) it is our firm conviction that only a fruitful combination of theory and data would lead to linguistically significant generalizations. I'd therefore, like to urge scholars working in India exploit the richness of data by properly analysing it with proper theoretical tools - may it be modern or traditional Indian or a combination of both.

I once again thank you all for listening to my address and special thanks to Reddy gaaru for providing me the inspiration to work on agreement. I wish this symposium a great success.

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A Comparison of Agreement System in Old Tamil and Modern Tamil

K. RANGAN AND M. SUSEELA

Agreement system in natural languages is one of the important grammatical phenomena that attracted the attention of linguists all over the world. In the overall system of language description, agreement was given marginal treatment.[1] Advances in syntax and typology led the scholars to go deep into the system of agreement. Both agreement and concord are used as if they are synonyms. Concord is described as a kind of inflection by Lyons (1968:239). Two or more words or phrases are inflected for the same category i.e. for example, a marker indicating the person and number attached with a particular constituent is viewed as a reflection of inherent features of another constituent within a clause or across a clause. Agreement phenomenon may be studied with reference to morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels of language. In this paper, we like to restrict it to the level of morphology in both Old Tamil (OT) and Modern Tamil (MT).

In OT, we find the following agreement markers (Meenakshisundaran 1965:87)

Table-1

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
I	*an, aan*	*am*
	en. een	*aam*
	al	*em, eem*
	ku	*kum*
	Tu	*Tum*
	Ru	*Rum*
	tu	*tum*

II	*i* *ai* *aay*		*ir iir* *min*		
III	HUMAN		NON-HUMAN	HUMAN	NON-HUMAN
	MAS	FEM			
	an *aan*	*aL* *aaL*	*Tu* *Ru* *tu*	*ar* *aar* *pa* *maar*	*ana*

The behaviour of *ceyyum* type is different from the above. First, it does not occur with I P and II P pronouns and III P human plural pronoun when they are subjects of the sentence. It occurs with III P singular and non-human plural only. Further, It does not denote the human/non-human distinction *(ti̦ ai).* In the over all agreement system, *ceyyum* type of verbs does not distinguish *(ti̦ ai)* class and *(pāl)* gender.

1. *ikal-vinai meeval-an taNT-aat-u viic-um* PT 60.2
   fight-act like-he restrict throw-fut
   not V.M.
   'He who likes the act of fighting will give without restriction.'

2. *am-maa ariva(y)-um var-um-oo?* KR 63.3
   beautiful-black coloured girl Come-fut-Q
   'Will that beautiful black coloured girl come?'

3. .... *nin nal(l)-icai mik-um-ee* PT 38.2
   your good-fame increase-fruit-Q
   'Your good fame will increase'

4. *mann-uyir-ellaa nin(n)-añ c-um-ee* PR 20.2
   world-living things all you fear-fut
   emph
   'All living things, in the world will fear for you'

The analysis of Sangam language presents the following pattern of agreement markers. Some of the markers occur with non-past tense only. In other words, the tense controls the selection of pronominal endings with verbs.

Table-2

<table>
<tr><td>PERSON</td><td colspan="3">SINGULAR</td><td colspan="4">PLURAL</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">I</td><td colspan="2">PAST</td><td>NON-PAST</td><td colspan="2">PAST</td><td colspan="2">NON-PAST</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">icin</td><td>ku</td><td colspan="2">ikum</td><td colspan="2">kum
Tum
Rum
tum</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">al[3]</td><td colspan="4" rowspan="2">em
eem
oom
am
aam</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">en
een
an</td></tr>
<tr><td>II</td><td colspan="3">i[4]
ai
aay
ooy</td><td colspan="4">ir
īr</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">III</td><td colspan="2">HUMAN</td><td>NON-HUMAN</td><td colspan="3">HUMAN</td><td>NON-HUMAN</td></tr>
<tr><td>MAS</td><td>FEM</td><td rowspan="2">-
atu
ttu
tu
Ru
Tu</td><td>PAST</td><td colspan="2">NON-PAST</td><td rowspan="2">a</td></tr>
<tr><td>an
aan
oon</td><td>aL
aaL
ooL</td><td>-</td><td colspan="2">pa
ar
aar
oor</td></tr>
</table>

A glance at the above table gives the impression that most of the agreement markers, though not all, make singular vs plural distinction in number category. The division of singular vs plural is a distinct feature of agreement system in OT. It is applicable to I P, II P and III P. There is only one suffix that obliterates not only singular vs plural distinction but also gender distinction in II P. Further, it occurs in combination with non-past-tense only (1-4).

5........ *enr-icin* *vaan-ee* NR. 55-12
.... tell-past-I I emph
'I told'

6. .... *yaan-evan* *cey-k-oo* KR. 25.2
I -what do-non-past-Q
'What am/will I do?'

7. *palar-pukaz celvam-initu-kaNTikum-ee* PT. 11.20
many-appreciate richness well see-past-we
'We saw well the richness appreciated by many'

8. *vaan-ko Tuuval vaLi-tar-a (v) uN-kum* AK. 133.11
sky-have drops wind-give-to drink-non-past
'We drink/will drink the drops brought by the wind in the sky'

9. *irun (-kiLai(c) ciRaark kaaN-Tum* PR. 173.9
large-relatives children see-non-pst
'We see/will see large number of relatives with children.'

10. *yaam-ak tayarkam cee-Rum* KR. 803
we-it enjoy-non-past reach-non-past
'Let us go and enjoy it'

11. *uLLu-tum peruma-yaam-uvantu-nani perit-ee* PR.803
think-non-past lord-we feel-happy-very great-emph
'Lord, we will think (it) with great happiness.'

12. .....*yaan yaay-añ cu-v-al-ee* PR. 83.2
I motherfear-non-past-emph
'I am/will be afraid of mother.

In examples (5-11) separate markers for tense and AGR are not found. Rather single marker is found to express both tense and AGR. The markers such as *-icin, -ku, -ikum, -kum, -Tum, -Rum* and *-tum* denote both past and non-past and IP singulr and plural. It may be possible for one to aruge that when markers such s *-icin, -ku,* etc.

occur as past-tense and subject is IP singular, AGR is unmarked. It is difficult to support this position because there are data in which separate markers for tense and AGR are found.

13. ...... *yaan va-nt an-en* NR. 267.8
I come-past-Φ-I
'I came'

14. *aRi-n t-een-atu tuni(y)-aakutal-ee* KR.84.2
know-pat-I it hatred-become-VN
'I knew it becoming hatred'

15. ..... *yaan-kaN Tan-an-oo ilan-oo* KR. 311.4
I see-past-Φ-I-Int not-int
'Did I see or not?'

16. .... *arici veeNT-in-e m-aaka* PR. 140.5
rice want-past-we be-inf
'As we wanted rice.........'

17. aruñ curat t-alki y-eem-e.. AK. 261.12
hard desert stay-past-we
'We stay in the hard desert'

18. *eyta-va-nt-an -am-yaa m-eettu ka-am* PR. 10.1
near come-past-Φ-we praise-fut-we
'We came to you and will praised you in several ways.'

19. *yaatu-cey- v-aaŋ-kol tooZi* KR. 197.1
what do-fut-we-int friend
'Friend, what shall we do?'

20. *maRa-nt-oo m-anRa naam-ee naaN-u-Tai neñc-ee*
forget-past-we certainly we shame-possess heart
KN. 12.3-4
'O, shame possessing heart, we forgot'

In examples (13-20), we have separate markers for tense and PGN. The suffixes such as *-em, -eem, -am* and *-aam* are for IP plural *-oom* is also used for IP plural. In these examples we have separate markers for past and non-past tense.

In the next stage, the TNS marker and PGN marker are separated i.e. there are separate markers to express tense and PGN. In (21), we have *-t* expressing non-past-tense and, *i* IIP singular. The occurrence of PGN marker is conditioned by the non-past tense marker.

21. *pulavu-t-i* *maat-ooniiy-ee* PR. 219.3
 hate-non-past-you expl. you
 'You hate'

We have data in OT in which separate markers for tense and PGN are available for II P. The suffixes such as *-ai, -aay* and *-ooy* occur when the subject is II P singular. Similarly, *-ir* and *-iir* occur with II P plural.

22. *cerup-pala* *cey-ku(v)-ai* *vaaZka-nin* *vaLan-ee*
 battle-many do-not-past-you-long live-your prosperity
 PT. 36.14

 'You fight/will fight many battles, long live your prosperity'

23. *nii-piZai-t* *t-aay-poo* *nani-naa* *N-in-ai(y)-ee* PR. 48.17
 you -past
 'You felt shame much as you did wrong'

24. *ariyaL* *aaku-tal* *aRi(y)aa* *t-ooy-ee* KR. 120.4
 'rare-she' 'be-VN' 'know-not'
 'You do not know that she is rare (to get)'

In examples (22-24), we have both tense and PGN markers. *-ai, -aay* and *-ooy* are PGN markers occurring

with II P singular. We observe similar markers for II P plural.

25\. ...... *aaT-in-ir* *paaT-in-ir* *cel-in-ee*
dance-past-you sing-past-you go-cond
'If you go dancing and singing.......'

26\. *ellirum* *en-cey-t-iir......* KL. 142.15
all-you what-do-past-you
'What did all of you do?'

We find *-ir* and *-iir* occurring as PGN markers with II P plural. The distinction of singular vs plural is maintained in III P also. Human vs non-human distinction is significant here. Under plural, only human vs non-human is distinguished. It is *-pa* that denotes both non-past tense and human plural. With other cases, the tense marker and PGN marker are separated. Under human singular, masculine Vs feminine distinction is made. Masculine vs feminine distinction is not found either under human plural or non-human singular and non-human plural. The suffixes *-ar, -aar,* and *-oor* denote III P human plural.

27\. *pirintoor puNarppoor iru-nt-an-ar kill-oo* KR.11/6.2
departed-they will-unite-they be-past-Φ-they int
'Were there people who united the departed ones?'

28\. .... *veentar-em kunR-um koN-T-aar* PR. 112.5
kings-our hills-also take-past-they
'The kings took possession of our hills'

29\. *cen-R-oor mann-ena* AIN. 467.3
go-past-they expl. -comp.
'Have they gone?'

The suffixes *-a* and *-ai* occur with the III P non-human plural subject.

30\. *teer-ooT-a(t) takaL keZu-minu teruvu* PR. 345.2
chariot-run-inf dust raise-past-they street
'As the chariot ran, dust raised in the streets.'

31. ...... *maa-(p) poZi-nt-a(v)-ai (y)eNN-in* PT. 42.5
horses give-past-they count-cond
'If one counts the horses given by him......'

The suffixes *-atu, -ttu, -tu, -Ru* and *-Tu* denote non-human singular.

32. *teer-va-nt-u peya-nt-atu* KR. 246.4
chariot-come-past-VP return-past-it
'The chariot came and returned'

33. *caayan maarpu nani(y) -alai-t t-anR-ee* PT. 16.20
soft chest much-make-suffer-past-it
'(His) soft chest made me suffer much'

34. *kurukum uN-Tu-taan maNa-nt-a naanR-ee* KR. 25.6
bird also be-past-emph marry-past-RP time
'Then he married (me), there was a bird also'

-an, -aan and *-oon* are markers denoting III P human masculine singular.

35. *venR-u koTi eTu-tt-an-an veentan-um* AK. 354.3
win-pat-VP flag take-past-Φ-he king-also
'Having won, the king also raised his flag'

36. *annai yoomp-i(y)-a aay-nalam enn-ai koN-T-aan*
mother protect-past-RPgood-welfare my-chief take-past-he
KR. 223.6-7
'My chief took my welfare protcted by my mother'

37. vaar-aa(c) ceeTpulam paTar-nt-oon PT. 61.10
return-not distant place go-past-he

'One who went to the far off place from where he could not return'

Similarly one finds *-aL, -aal,* and *-ooL* markers denoting III P human feminine singular.

38. *inai(y)-ai (y)oo(v)-ena vina(v)-in-aL yaay-ee* NR. 55.7
kind-your comp ask-past-she mother
'Mother asked are you of this kind?'

39. ..... *niipp-in vaaZ-v-aaL-oo* KL. 4.24
depart-cond live-fut-she
'If you depart, will she live?'

The examples give various agreement markers occurring with all the three personal pronouns.

A comparison of agreement markers in MT reveals the changes that had taken place in the history of Tamil language.

Table-3

PERSON	SINGULAR						PLURAL	
I	*een*						*oom*	
II	HONORIFIC			NON-HONORIFIC				
	iir			*aay*			*iirkaL*	
III	HUMAN			NON-HUMAN		HUM.	NON-HUMAN	
	HONORIFIC	NON-HONORIFIC		FUTURE	NON-FUTURE		FUTURE	NON-FUTURE
		MAS	FEM					
	aar	*an*[5] *aan*	*aL*[5] *aaL*	*um*	*atu* *Ru*	*ar* *aarkaL*	*um*	*a*

Example (40-45) illustrate the AGR system in MT.

40. *naan avan-ai(p) paar-tt-een*
I he-acc see-past-I
'I saw him'

41. *naan(kaL avan-ai(p) paar-tt-oom*
we
'We saw him'

42. *naam avan-ai(p) paar-tt-oom*
we (incl) -we
'We saw him'

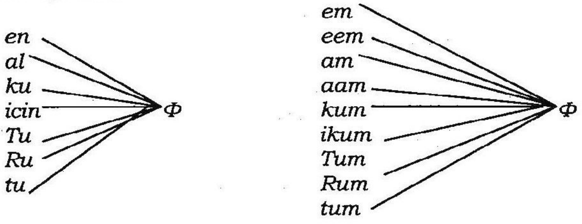
43. *nii avan-ai(p) par-tt-aay*
you (sg) -you
'You saw him'

44. *niinkaL avan-ai(p) paar-tt-iirkaL*
you(pl) - you (pl)
'You saw him'

As far as MT is concerned, it seems that the distinction of past and non-past had disappeared in IP and IIP. The markers that denote both tense and PGN are lost. In IP, only *-een* and *-oom* are retained. Similarly *-i* in IIP is lost and *-aay* retained. The tense does not control the selection of PGN markers in IP and IIP. Separate markers are used to express tense and PGN. It may be shown as

PERSON	**SINGULAR**		**PLURAL**	
	OT	MT	OT	MT
I	*een* →	*een*	*oom* →	*oom*

The following shows the loss of markers in IP singular and plural.



IN II P, *-i* which denotes PGN is lost in MT, *-aay* and *-iir* are retained in II P singular and plural. But a new division (honorific vs non-honorific) has been created in II P singular. The plural marker *-iir* in OT is used to express II P singular honorific. A composite form of *-iir* and *-kaL* are formed to denote II P plural in MT.

PERSON	**SINGULAR**		**PLURAL**	
	OT	MT	OT	MT
II	*ai*, *ooy*, *i* →	*Φ*	*ir* →	*Φ*
		HON		
		iir →	*iir* →	*iirkaL*

-ir which expresses II P plural is lost in MT. Similarly, honorific vs non-honorific distinction is made in IIP human singular. Examples given below give an inventory of markers of PGN used in III P.

45. *avan en(n)-ai(p) paar-tt-aan*
he I-acc see-past-he
"He saw me'

46. *avaL en(n)-ai(p) paar-tt-aaL*
she -she
'She saw me.'

47. *avar en(n)iai(p) paar-tt-aar*
he/se (hon) -he/she
'He/She saw me'

48. *avarkaL en(n)-ai(p) paar-tt-aar*
they(hum) - they
'They saw me'

49. *avarkaL en(n)-ai(p) paar-tt-aarkaL*
they(hum) -they
'They saw me'

50. *atu en(n)ai-(p) paar-tt-atu*
it *-it*
'It saw me'

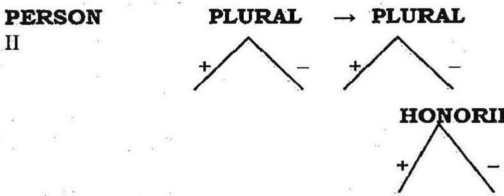
51. *puli kaaT(T)il ooT-iR-Ru*
tiger forest-in run-past-it
'The tiger ran in the forest'

52. *puyal* *naaLai* *var -u*
cyclone tomorrow come-fut
'There will be a cyclone tomorrow'

53. *mayilkaL* *naaLai* *aaT-um*
peacocks tomorrow dance-will-they
'The peacocks will dance tomorrow'

54. *avai* *en(n)-ai(p)* *paar-tt-an-a*
they (non-hum) me see-past- Φ - they
'They saw me'

As we pointed out earlier, honorific vs non-honorific distinction is made in IIP singular and in IIIP human singular. The change may be shown as



In order to express IIIP masculine singular, *-an, -aan* and *-oon* were used in OT. In MT, we have *-an* and *-aan* dropping *-oon* of OT.

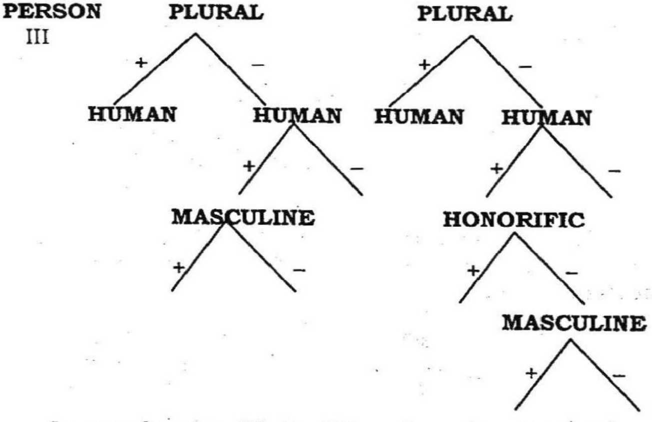
PERSON	SINGULAR MASCULINE		SINGULAR FEMININE	
	OT	MT	OT	MT
III	[*an* / *aan*] →	[*an* / *aan*]	[*aL aL* / *aaL*] →	[/ *aaL*]
	oon →	*Φ*	*ooL* →	*Φ*

Similarly, *-ooL* is dropped in MT retaining *-aL* and *-aaL* for feminine singular.

The human plural suffix in III P of OT is shifted to express the human honorific singular in MT. *-oor* has been dropped and *-ar* retained. The change may be shown as

PERSON	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
III	MT HON		OT	MT
			a	
				Φ
			oor	
			ar →	*ar*
	aar	←	*aar* →	*aarkaL*

-kaL is added with *-aar* to express IIIP human plural. The conceptual change that had taken place in IIIP human class may be shown as:



In non-human III P, OT makes the distinction of singular versus plural only. MT also maintains the same distinction. In OT, we have *-atu* and *-a* as singular and plural markers.

In examples 53-54, we found no explicit PGN marker. *-um* occurs as tense marker expressing future. It occurs with both IIIP, non-human singular and plural subjects.

The distinction vs future vs non-future and not past vs non-past (See Table-3).

As observed earlier, either we may regard *-um* as future tense marker with no explicit marker for PGN or it may be considered as expressing both future and PGN when the subject is IIIP non-human.

Appellative verbs

In Tamil, there is a set of roots occurring in predicate position. These roots when they occur in predicate position are inflected for PGN of the subject NP. But the tense markers are not found with them. The traditional grammars label these roots as *kuRippu vinai* (appellative verbs). Broadly speaking, they express the meaning of possession, location, comparison and quality. The source of these verbs may be both nominal and adjectival bases. The following adjectival base *nal* is inflected for PGN of the subject NP in OT.

55. *aLi-yeen yannee* KR. 30.6
pity I I
'I am of pity'

56. *nal(l)-ai-man ramma paalee* KR. 229.5
good-you certainly expl fate
'O fate, you are good'

57. *iLai-yan n-ivan* PR. 72.2
young-he he
'He is young'

58. *aLi-ya Tanee punvilaip peNTee* PR.293.6
pity-she emp. flower sale woman
'The flower selling woman is of pity'

59. *aLi-yar-en naayat toor* NR.12.8
pity-they my friends-they
'My friends are of pity'

60. atu-vara l-anmaiyoo ari-te KR. 248.1
It coming not rare-it
'Its not coming is rare'

61. *Kaanamum ini-ya* KK. 274.6
forest-even sweet-they
'Even the forests are sweet'

The table presented below shows the agreement markers occurring with the appellatives.

Table-4

<table>
<tr><th>PERSON</th><th colspan="3">SINGULAR</th><th colspan="2">PLURAL</th></tr>
<tr><td>I</td><td colspan="3">en
een</td><td colspan="2">em
eem
om
oom</td></tr>
<tr><td>II</td><td colspan="3">aay</td><td colspan="2">ir
iir</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">III</td><td colspan="2">HUMAN</td><td rowspan="2">NON-HUMAN</td><td rowspan="2">HUMAN</td><td rowspan="2">NON-HUMAN</td></tr>
<tr><td>MAS</td><td>FEM</td></tr>
<tr><td>an
aan
oon</td><td>aL
aaL
ooL</td><td>atu
ttu
tu
Ru
Tu</td><td>ar
aar
oor</td><td>a</td></tr>
</table>

The sentences with appellatives may be of the following type.

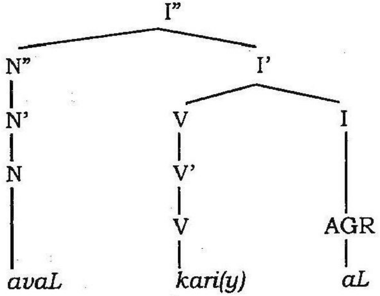
I" ⟶ N"I'
I' ⟶ V"I
I ⟶ AGR

Sentences such as:

62. *avan kari(y)-an*
he black-he
'He is black'

63. *avaL kari(y)-aL*
she black-she
'She is black'

may be shown as:



But, in MT we have forms such as *nallavaL, periyavan, kariyavaL,* etc., In predicate position, the MT uses the participal noun in the place of appellative verbs. Equivalent sentences for 55-61 OT are given below.

64. *naan nallavan* 'I am good'

65. *nii nallavan* 'You are good'

66. *avan nallavan* 'He is good'

67. *avaL nallavaL* 'She is good'

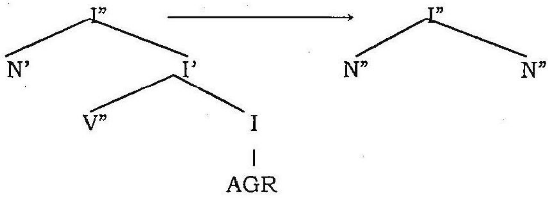
68. *avar nallavar* 'He/She (hon) is good.'

69. *atu nallatu* 'It is good'

70. *avai nallavai* 'They are good'

In MT, the suffixes showing P(erson) are dropped. Te participle nouns occurring in predicate position have markers showing G(ender) and N(umber). The participle nouns in 64-70 have to be complete table with the subject

NPs for GN. The pattern of the sentence has changed into N" + N". The change may be shown as



One notable difference that we observe between OT and MT is the manner in which inflection is carried out. In the case of OT, the agreement markers are added to the roots of qualities such as *nal, peri, kari,* etc., whereas in the case of MT, the nominal suffixes are added to the adjectives such as *nalla, periya, kariya,* etc., to derive the participial nouns.

Negative constructions

In negative construction, we continue our discussion to the use of *il* and *al.* We find the negative words *il* and *al* functioning as appellative verbs in predicate position. The following sentences are given to show the inflection of *il* for PGN of the subject NP.

71. *uyar-koTi onRu inRu*
high flag one not-it
'There is no greater flag than this'

72. .... *naan il-ai*
shame not-you
'You have no shame'

73. .... *munivu il-ar*
anger not-you
'They have no anger'

74. *niiy-um tavaR-il-ai numar-um tavaR-il-ar*
you-also wrong-not-you your relatives-also wrong-not-they
'Neither you nor your relatives are wrong'

In order to express identity of negation, *al* is used as an appellative verb in predicate position. We have date in OT in which *al* is inflected for PGN of the subject NP.

75. *ivaL aNaŋkiyoon kaTavuL al(l)-an*
she persecuted-he God not-be-he
'It is not God who persecuted her'

76. *muutuur ceeyttum an-Ru*
(his)city distant not
'His city is not distant'

77. .....*uNku-v-am al(l)-am*
eat-will-we not-we
'We will not eat'

Both *muRRecam* and *al* have agreement markers.

78. *aRintan-aL al(l)aL annai*
knew-she not-she mother
'Mother did not know'

79. *uyntan-ar al(l)-ar ivan uTaRRi (y) -oor-ee*
survived-they not-they him fought-they
'Those who fought with him did not survive'

There are cases in which *-al* is added as a suffix to a verb stem and PGN marker is attached to it.

80. *ceralaatan poy(y)-al-an*
Cheralathan lie-not-he
'Cheralathan will not lie'

81. *oRupp-a oov-al-ai*
punish-to go and stay -not you
'Though punished, you do not go and stay (there)'

82. *nirupp-a nil-al-ai*
stop-to stay-not-you
'Though stopped, you do not stay (there)'

In MT, the verb *-al* is not found, except in the language maintaining some archaic features, for all purposes to negate the identity or existence or possessiveness, the verb *-il* alone is used without PGN markers.

83. *avan maaNavan illai*
he student a not
'He is not a student'

84. *avan viiTT-il illai*
he house-in not be
'He is not in the house'

The structure is also changed when possessiveness is negated. In MT, the nominative becomes dative/locative NP.

85. *avan-ukku cottu illai avan-iTam*
he-to property not he-loc
'He has no property'

The verb preceding the negative *illai* is in infinitive form. The distinction is future vs non-future, and not past vs non-past.

86. *avan paLLikkuuTattiR-ku vara(v)-illai*
he school-to come-inf-not
'He did/does not come to school'

In future, *maaTT* occurs in the place of *illai* after the infinitive verb. PGN marker is added to *maaTT* depending on the subject NP of the sentence.

87. *avan var-a-maaTT-aan*
he come-inf-not-ful-he
'He will not come'

88. *avaL var-amaaTT-aaL*
'She will not come'

89. *avar var-a-maTT-aar*
'He (Hon) will not come'

maaTTu occurs with the subject NP specified as [+human]. With non-human subject NP, suffix *-aa* occurs with the verb.

90. *atu var-aa-tu*
it come-not-fut-it
'It will not come'

91. *avai vaar-aa*
they (non-hum) come-not-fut-they
'They will not come'

Conclusion

An examination of agreement system in OT and MT makes two points clear. One simple assumption that requires further data of Tamil language of various periods to be examined is that linguistic change leads to simple system from complex system. Simple system may be characterized as the one that has fewer forms with fewer conditions. A comparison of OT and MT clearly shows that MT has lost a number of agreement markers for I P and II P. Even in III P, the MT has fewer markers compared to OT. The loss of forms has been shown clearly. Further, the OT IP has forms whose selection is conditioned by the TNS. The division of past and non-past plays a major role in the selection of *-icin* vs *-ku* on the one hand, and *-ikum* vs *-kum, Tum, -Rum* and *-tum* on the other. Similarly in II P, *-r* is selected when TNS is non-past. But in MT, we have lost a number of forms and the selection of agreement markers has been de-linked from the system of TNS.

The pattern of OT with regard to I P, II P and III P may be shown as:

92.	NP [IP]	Vb_{Rt}	-TNS AGR
93.	NP [IP/IIP]	Vb_{Rt}	- TNS - AGR
94.	NP [I/II/IIIP]	Vb_{Rt}	-TNS - AGR

In (92), we see the TNS and AGR are fused and in (93), we have the structure in which TNS and AGR are separated. However, the TNS governs the selection of AGR. The control between TNS and AGR is de-linked in (94). Examination of these data and patterns that emerge will lead to the conclusion that the process of de-linking between TNS and AGR is toward simple system whereas creation of a separate slot for AGR in the morphological structure of Verb is toward complex system. Further in negative constructions of OT, AGR is found with *al* and *il*. But in MT, the negative *illai* occurs with every person, gender and number. AGR is dropped in these cases. Unmarking of AGR like Malayalam supports the idea that the language change is toward simple system. In order to propose a valid and testable hypothesis, we require data of various periods of the Tamil language. It appears that the loss of many forms from OT and the process of de-linking the control of TNS on AGR had led the language from complex system to simple system.

Note

1. Ramakrishna Reddy (1991).

2. *palloor paTarkkai munnilai tanmai*
   avvayin muunRum nikazuŋ kaalattuc
   ceyyum ennum kiLaviyoTu koLLa Tol.Col.207

3. *-al* occurs with non-past tense marker. It does not denote both tense and PGN. The occurrence of *-al* is controlled by the tense marker and therefore its distribution is restricted to the co-occurrence of non-past marker.

4. As *-al* IP singular, *-i* denotes II P singular and co-occurs with non-past marker. In both cases, the emergence of separate slots for tense and PGN in the morphological structure of verb is significant.

5. Both *-an* and *-aL* do not occur frequently in MT. The style in which these forms are found is pedantic. In most of modern Tamil writings, these forms are not used. Only in human plural the use of *-ar* is natural. All these suffixes (*-an, -aL* and *-ar*) follow the *cariyai -an.*

6. Tolkappiyam notes the use of honorific form. The plural form is used to express the honorific singular in usage but not in grammar. It appears that the honorific vs non-honorific distinction is not recognised as part of grammatical classification.

oruvaraik	kuuRum	panmaik	kiLaviyum
onRanaik	kuuRum	panmaik	kiLaviyum
vaZakki	naakiya	uyarcoR	kiLavi
ilakkaNa	maruŋ(kin	colla	Ralla

Tol.Col.27

7.

inRila	uTaiya	ennuń	kiLaviyum
anRuTait	talla	vennuń	kiLaviyum
paNpukoL	kiLaviyum	uLaveń	kiLaviyum
paNpin	aakiya	cinaimutaR	kiLaviyum
opoTu	varuń	kiLaviyoTu	tokaii
appaaR	pattuń	kuRuppoTu	koLLum

Tol.Col.220

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Abbreviations

AIN = AinkurunuuRu; AK = AkanaanuuRu
KL = Kalittokai; KR = Kuruntokai
NR = NaRRiNai; PR = PurananuRu
PT = PatiRRupattu; Tol = Tolkaappiyam
Col = collatikaaram.

History of Agreement in Tamil and its Loss in Malayalam

S.V. SHANMUGAM

1. Introduction

Agreement in Dravidian is found in the person-gender number (PGN) category between the subject and the predicate of a sentence. The PGN of nouns in the subject is partly selective mostly for person and gender and inflectional for the number and the PGN of the predicate called indicative verbs, which exclude imperative and optative in inflectional. Here there can be maximum nine way contrast in Tamil (first person singular and plural, second person singular and plural, third person human masculine singular, human feminine singular, human plural, neuter singular and plural) in the past finite verbs. In a restricted way, there is agreement in the noun phrase in the numeral qualifier - qualified construction like *man̲itar iruvar* 'two men' literally 'men two persons' and *maram iraṇTu* 'two trees' lit. 'Tree two things.' But the agreement in Dravidian is not uniform (for details, See Shanmugam 1971:2-19). Even within a language, the agreement is not constant. For instance, in Old Tamil (OT), there are some types of absence of agreement: (1) Some finite verb forms are common to more than one PGN; (a) the past finite verbs with *-icin̲* ending is common to 1st person singular (P.S), Masculine (Mas.) S., Feminine (Fem.) S and imperative (Tolkāppiyam (Tol.) Ss. 759 & 760. Sathasivam 1958; 147f.) in EOT only. (b) the verbal root + *um* suffix i.e., *ceyyum* pattern is used as non-past tense finite forms with the subject Mas. S., Fem S., Neuter, (Ne.), S., Ne. P and hence there is five way contrast (1st P.S. 1st P., 2nd P.S., 2nd P. human or Epicene plural (Ep. P) and others in the non-past tense. (Tol.S. 712). (2) Very rarely, there is absence of PGN suffix in the finite verb. Sathasivam (1958) has noted one instance. (*evvāy mun̲n̲in̲ṟu..... nin̲ tē:rē:* 'your chariot stands in front of my

place' - *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* 52.4). Here *niṉṟu* which is same as the verbal participle is used as *niṉṟatu,* the ne. S. finite verb. Additionally, the quotative and other particles are added to the verbal participle forms in OT while they are added to the finite verbs in NT. For example *uraitt-eṉa* for *uraittāṉ eṉa* 'because he said' - (Akanāṉūṟu 299.10-for more examples see-5).

Here an attempt is made to study the development of agreement in Tamil which is historically old and Malayalam which is historically latest in the sense of the availability of written records. Both languages are genetically closer and form a sub-sub group within South Dravidian (SDr.) The paper has four sections: i. the list of PGN suffixes found in the finite verbs in OT, MT and NT and their historical development of these suffixes. ii. list of PGN suffixes found in Malayalam records upto the period of Tuncattu Eluttaccan (c. 16th cent.), iii. historical study of Mal. suffixes. i.e. the evolution of the presence and the absence of the PGN suffixes in the written document and iv. the sociolinguistic attitude of the Malayalam scholars with regard to the evolution of the absence of PGN suffixes because this is one of the contrasting features of Mal. differentiating Mal. from Ta. explain the sociolinguistic attitude, two attributes of the standard language, i. autonomy i.e., the linguistic system as a unique and independent one and ii. historicity, i.e. the linguistic system is known or believed to be a result of normal development over time, among the four attributes (other two being standardization and vitality) given by Stewart 1966) are used.

2. PGN suffixes in Tamil

The detailed descriptions of PGN suffixes are found in OT (Agesthialingom 1979; Chitraputra Pillai 1981), Middle Tamil (MT) (Chitraputra Pillai 1981) and NT (written Tamil only). These suffixes are listed with conditioning factors

only. In the case of OT and MT, the frequency has to be taken into consideration to explain the historical changes.

2.1 First person singular

OT	*-(aṉ)eṉ*	*-eeṉ*	*-(aṉ)aṉ*	*-aL*	*-u*
MT	*-eṉ*	*-eeṉ*	*(aṉ)aṉ*		*-u*
NT		*-eeṉ*			

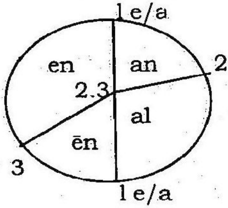
In OT, the forms with *-aṉ* (*-aṉeṉ* and *-aṉaṉ)* occur after the past tense suffixes *-nt-* and *-t-* and the forms without *-aṉ (-eṉ* and *-aṉ)* elsewhere most frequently. *-aṉaṉ* and *-aṉeṉ* are in free variation. *-ēṉ* in OT is less frequent and occurs everywhere in the relatively later records, and so it is in free variation with the other two suffixes namely, *-al* occurs after the non-past tense suffixes *-p-* and *-k-* and *-u* after the non-past tense suffix *-k-* only and so both *-aḷ* and *-u* are partly in free variation.

In MT, -ēṉ is more frequent and occurs everywhere, *-eṉ* occurs after the tense suffixes other than the past tense *-nt-* and *-t-* where *-aṉaṉ* occurs. *-u* occurs after the future tense suffix *-k-* only.

Subrahamanyam (1971:405) has reconstructed *-iṉn* for PDr. Descriptively all the forms except *-u* can be considered to have phonologically connected taking *-aṉeṉ* as the basic form. Since they are in free variation mostly, two major dialects, *aṉeṉ* and *aṉaṉ* can be set up which vary due to e______*a/a* (C) - C i.e. progressive assimilation. These two dialects which can be named *e* dialect and *a* dialect underwent further changes. The *e* dialect should have undergone vowel lengthening everywhere, V --------- V/-C except after past tense suffixes *-nt-* and *-t-* where the PGN will be *-aṉeṉ* and not *-eṉ* as in other environment, and then it should have analogically spread to the past tense with *-nt-* and *-t-* The dialect should have undergone the denasalisation rule i.e. n -------- / dialectally because *-aṉ* is also found in OT.

The denasalisation is also found in the casual and the locative case suffix where *-iṉ* in OT became *-il* in MT.

Since the first person plural has *-um* as one of the suffixes, one is tempted to consider the singular -u from *-un corresponding to the plural *-um*. The final nasal should have been lost after *-u*.



1. *e/a en - an*
2. *n/l an - al*
3. *e/ē en - ēn*

In MT, the occurrence of *-aṉaṉ* is attested not only after the past tense suffixes, *-nt-* and *-t-* but also after the present tense *–kiṉṟu*. *-eṉ* is attested only after the negative forms like *ceyyēṅ*. 'I will not do', *pāṭēn* 'I will not sing' etc. which are interpreted as the negative *-a-* + the PGN suffix *-eṉ*. The suffixes *aṉaṉ* and *-aḷ* were lost and *-ēṉ* became more frequent in MT.

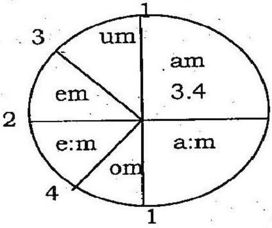
In NT, the suffix *-eṉ* which is occurring with the negative suffix is lost due to development of the periphrastic negatives *ceyyamāṭṭēn* 'I will not do' which consists of the infinitive form of the verb + auxiliary *māṭṭu* + *ēṉ* for the future and *ceyyavillai* 'I did/does not do' for the non-future, which consists of the infinitive of the verb | the negative word *-illai*. The loss of *-aṉaṉ*, *-al* and *-u* are due analogical extension of *-ēṉ*.

2.2 First person plural

OT *(aṉ)em –ēm*	*-(aṉ)am*	*-ām*	*-ōm*	*-um*	*-ikum*
MT *-(aṉ)em*		*-ām*	*-ōm*	*-um*	
NT		*-ōm*			

The distribution of the suffixes are same as in the case of first person singular. *-kum* occurs restrictively with the past tense *-nt-* form. *-ēm, -ām* and *-ōm* occur everywhere. -ōm occurs everywhere. *-om* occurs less frequently in LOT. The short vowel forms are more frequent than the long vowel forms in OT.

Subrahmanyam (1971:406) has reconstructed *-ēm* for PDr. The prehistory of *-um* and *-ikum* are not known even from the comparative point of view. All other forms in OT can be considered to be phonologically related. Here *-(aṉ)em* can be taken as basic. The rule, *e* → *a* posited for the singular is also applicable here and the new environment *-m* has to be added. *e* → *a*/& *aṉ -m*. Similarly the lengthening of the syllabic final vowel is operating for the both *-e* and *-a*. Here also, two major dialects can be set up on the basis of variations *-aṉ(em)* and *-aṉ(am)* and call them as *-e* and *-a* dialects. The lengthening rule is applicable to both the dialects and this may be interesting isogloss. In the long vowel portion *(-em)* of the area of the *-e* dialect, another change *ē*→*ō*/*-m* (regressive assimilation should have taken place.



1. e > *a* = *em -am*
2. v_1 > *v* = *ēm -ām*
3. e > *u* = *em - um*
4. *ē* > *o* = *ēm - ōm*

In MT, *-em* occurs only in the negative forms (*ceyyēm* 'we will not do' type). Just like - *aṉ(eṉ)* is lost in the singular, *-(aṉ)em* is lost in the plural. *-ōm* and the short vowel forms which are less frequent in OT become more frequent in MT and the present tense suffix has only *-ōm*. The loss of *-ēm* is due to the analogical extension of *-ōm* *-ikum* is lost in MT.

In NT., except *-ōm* all others are lost due to the analogical extension of *-ōm*.

2.3 Second person singular

OT	*-(an̲)ai*	*-āy*	*-ōy*	*-i*
MT	*-(an̲)ai*	*-āy*		*-i*
NT	*-āy*			

-i occurs less frequently with the past tense *-t-* and mostly frequently with non-past tense *-t-* in OT.

Both **-ai* and **-i* are reconstructed to PDr. (Subrahmanyam, 1971:409). The three suffixes except *-i* are in free variation and can be considered to have developed from the basic *-(an̲)ai*. Here the lengthening of the final syllable *-a* is common to the first person and also other PGN suffixes. *-ōy* is basically a participial noun suffix and is extended to finite verb because the finite verb forms are also used as the participial noun forms. In OT, the short vowel forms are more frequent while in MT the long vowel forms are more frequent.

In MT, *-ōy* is lost due the analogical extension of *-āy* and *-i* occurring after the past tense *-t-* is also lost.

In NT, both *-(an̲)ai* and *-i* are lost due to the same analogical tendency.

2.4 Second person plural

OT	*-(an̲)ir*	*-īr'*
MT	*-ir(kaḷ)*	*-īr(kaḷ)*
NT		*īkaḷ*

-(an̲)ir and *īr* are in free variation. **-īr* is reconstructed to PDr. (Subrahmanyam, 1971:411). In OT, *-(an)ir* is basic and the lengthening of the final syllable is common as in other PGN suffixes, but the short vowel

forms are more frequent than long vowel forms. In MT, *-ir* which is not occurring with the past tense *-nt-* and *-t-* in OT is found even with these two past tense suffixes. The optional addition of *-kaḷ* in MT is due to the development of honorific singular as a separate grammatical category both in the nouns and the finite verbs (Shanmugam, 1971). In MT the long vowel forms are more frequent than the short vowel forms. In NT *-īr(kaḷ)* is lost due to the analogical extension of *-īrkaḷ*.

2.5 Masculine singular

OT	-*(aṉ)aṉ*	-*ān*	-*ōn*	Φ
MT	-*(aṉ)aṉ*	-*ān*		
NT		-*ān*		Φ

Φ occurs after the non-past tense *-um*. The other three suffixes are in variation. *-*āṉ* is reconstructed to PDr. (Subrahmanyam, 1971:416). In OT, *-ōṉ* is originally a participial noun suffix which is extended to the finite verbs because the finite verb forms are used as the participial noun in OT. *-(aṉ)aṉ* is the basic form here. The long vowel form is due to the lengthening of the vowel of the final syllable as in PGN suffixes. In OT, the long vowel forms are less frequent than the short vowel forms. The situation is reverse in MT. *-ōn* is lost in MT, and the short vowel form is lost in NT.

2.6 Feminine singular

OT	-*(aṉ)aḷ*	-*āḷ*	*ōḷ*	Φ
MT	-*(aṉ)aḷ*	-*āḷ*		Φ
NT		-*āḷ*		

The distribution and the historical development are same as the masculine singular.

2.7 Epicene plural

OT	*-(an̠)ar*	*-(an̠)ār*	*-mār*	*-ōr*	*-a*
MT	*-(an̠)ar*	*-arkal*	*-ār(kal)*		
NT	*-(an̠)ar*		*-arkaḷ*		

-ā occurs after the non-variant future tense *-p-* (*tarupa* 'they(hum.) give', *en̠n̠upa* 'they (hum.) think' *uṇpa* 'they (hum.) eat'). *-an̠ār* is found only after the future tense *-m-* (*en̠man̠ār* they (hum.) say') less frequently in EOT only, and *-ār* occurs everywhere. *-mār* occurs after the negative suffix *-al-(kāṇān̠mār* 'they (hum.) do not see', only in EOT. The short vowel forms are more frequent in OT while the long vowel forms are more frequent in MT.

**-ar* is reconstructed to PDr. The historical development of *-a* is not clear even from the comparative point of view. The other forms can be explained by taking *-an̠(ar)* as the base form. The lenghtening of the vowel of the final syllable will account the long forms. *-ōr* and *-an̠ār* forms are participial nouns in origin.

In MT *-arkaḷ* and *-an̠ar* are less frequent. The addition of *-kaḷ* is to differentiate it from the honorific singular.

In NT, *-(an̠)ar* is restricted to past tense only in the written Tamil.

2.8 Neuter singular

OT	*-(an̠)r̠u*	*-atu*	*-(n)tu*	*-ttu*	Φ
MT	*-(an̠)r̠u*	*-atu*	*-ntu*	*-ttu*	Φ
NT		*-atu*	*-ntu*	*(-ttu)*	Φ

-ttu occurs after the past tense *-i* (*kūṭir̠r̠u* 'it joined', *tan(kir̠r̠u* 'it stayed') and after the appellative verbs (*uṭaittu*) 'it possesses', *peyarttu* 'it names'), *-ntu* occurs after appellatives ending in *-l* and l (*nan̠r̠u* 'it is good', *an̠r̠u* 'it is not' *uṇṭu* 'it is') and *-tu* elsewhere after the appellatives

(*initu* 'it is sweet', *eḷitu* 'it is easy'), - Φ after the non-pat tense suffix *-um* (*kūṟum* 'it will tell', *kāttum* 'it will show') and *-aṉ(ṟu)* and *-atu* are in free variation and the former is more frequent in OT while the latter is more frequent in MT.

PDr. suffix is **atu*. *-aṉṟu* should be analogical extension on OT because all other PGN suffixes have *-an* after the past tense suffixes *-nt* and *-t-*. *-ttu* may be doubling form *-(nt)(u) + tu)* of the form *-ntu)*. This is also special innovation in OT. In MT, there is only frequency change. In NT, as in other PGN suffixes, the form with *-aṉ* (*aṉṟu*) is lost. *-ttu* (of course with palatalised form after the past tense *-i* (*ōṭicci* 'it ran', *taŋkicci* 'it stayed') is found in the colloquial language.

2.9 Neuter plural

OT	*-(aṉ)a*	Φ
MT	*-(aṉ)a*	Φ
NT	*-(aṉ)a*	Φ.

Φ occurs after the future tense suffix *-um* (*toḷum* 'it will worship', *viḷum* 'it will fall') and - *(an)a* elsewhere.

Subrahmanyam (1971:419) has not reconstructed any suffix for neuter plural, even though he has noted the occurrences of *-a* neuter plural in OT, Old Malayalam and Tulu. On this basis one may reconstruct **-a* at least to Proto South Dravidian. In OT, *-aṉa* and *-a* vary freely even after the past tense suffixes *-nt-* and (*paranta* 'they spread'/ *niṉṟa* 'they stood', *iṟantaṉa* 'it passed', *aḻutaṉa* 'they wept').

In MT, *-ana* and *-a* become complementary; the former occurring after the past tense suffixes *-nt-* and *-t-* and the latter elsewhere. In NT, the same situation continues only in the written language and in the spoken language, neuter singular forms are used for the neuter plural also.

3. Malayalam

One of the modern characteristic features of Malayalam is the absence of the agreement between the PGN of the subject and the predicate finite verb except in imperative where there is number agreement (singular and plural). But the written documents, both literary and inscriptional records have the presence and the absence of the agreement. So, the history of loss is a scholarly dispute among the Malayalam linguists. But the scholars of comparative Dravidian are of the opinion that it is a gradual loss and it is a historical development within the Malayalam history (Ramaswami Aiyer 1936 and Subrahmanyam 1994). But a group of Malayalam scholars like George (1958) are of the opinion that the loss of agreement is inherited form PDr. and PGN suffixes in the written records of Malayalam are all due to the Tamil influence. Totally one can recognise five different systems: i. PGN agreement in all the tenses, ii. the occurrence of -*itu/utu* with the tense suffix (which is historically neuter singular suffix) in the finite verbs for subjects of all PGN, iii. *ceyyum* pattern (root = *um* as the non-past tense suffix) finite verbs for subjects of all PGN, iv. the loss of agreement and in the 'past tense there will be no difference between conjunctive verbal participle (*ceytu* pattern which has the root + tense suffix) and the finite verb and v. the final vowel of the finite verb without the PGN suffix is elongated to differentiate from the conjunctive verbal participle to avoid homonymic clash. To understand the historical development, let us first note the occurrences of PGN suffixes in the records upto the period of Tuncatu Eluttaccan. Here the description is text oriented. Ramacharitam (RC), Early Manipravalam poetry (EMPo.), Early Malayalam prose (EMPr.), Kannassa Ramayanam (KR), Krishnagatha (KG), Eluttaccan's Ramayanam (ER) and Eluttaccan's Bharatham (EB) and Early inscriptions are taken into consideration.

3.1 First person

ēṉ is the first person suffix in all the texts with the past tense, the future tense, the present tense, the negative and the appellatives. *-eṉ* is found only after the future tense in KR.

-ēn	*vīnēn*	'I fell'
	ceyvēn	'I will do'
	moḻiṉṟēṉ	'I saw'
	aṟiyēn	'I do not know'
	vallēn	'I am capable'
-en	*varuvēn*	'I will come' KR
-an	*taruvan*	'I will give'

3.2 First person plural

-ōm is only suffix in all the records except Eluttaccan (ER & EB.)

kuṭuttōm	'We gave'
irunnōm	'We were'
aṟivōm	'We will know'

3.3 Second person singular

-ōy and *-ā* are in free variation everywhere and found in all the texts noted above.

-āy	*connāy*	'You said'
	nindiccāy	'You disgraced'
	kolluvāy	'You will kill'
	pōkunnāy	'You are going'
-ā	*koṭuttā*	'You gave'
	vīṇṇā	'You fell'
	kēḷā	'You will hear'

3.4 Second person plural

-ir is only suffix and that too attested only in KR.

kaṇṭīr	'You (pl) saw'
kāṇīr	'You (pl) will see'

3.5 Third person: Masculine singular

-ān occurs in all the texts and *-an* in RC only and *-anan* in RC and KR with the past tense *-nt-*.

-ān	*āṭinān*	'He played'
	vicāriccān	'He enquired'
	irukkinṟān	'He is'
-an	*pōyan*	'He went'-RC
-anan	*aṇaintanan*	'He reached' RC
	moḻintanan	'He spoke' RC

3.6 Third person: Feminine singular

-āḷ occurs in all the texts and -al with the appellative stems only in kR.

-āḷ	*vaṇaŋ(ŋ(iyāḷ*	'She saluted'
	ninnāḷ	'She stood'
	matiyāḷ	'She will not hesitate'
-aḷ	*uḷaḷ*	'She exists'

3.7 Epicene plural

-ār occurs everywhere in all the texts and *-ar* after the future tense suffix *-p/v-* RC, EMPo., EMPr and KR, i.e. Middle Malayalam.

-ār	*cōtipār*	'They (hum.) will ask'
	koṭuttār	'They (hum.) gave'
	āṭinār	'They (hum.) danced'
	aṭiccār	'They (hum.) struck'
	vallār	'They (hum.) are capable'
-ar	*aṟivar*	'They will know'
	nilpar	'They will stand'
	koṭupar	'They will give'

3.8 Neuter singular

-itu occurs in all the texts everywhere and *-atu* after the present tense *-(k)inr-* in EMPo. and EMPr. only it is in free variation with *-utu* after the past tense and the present tense *-nn-* RC and EMPr. only *-ūtu* after the negatives and the future tense *-p/v-* in RC and EMPr. only and *-itu* is in free variation with the past tense.

-itu	*kuṭuttitu*	'I gave'
	varunnitu	'It comes'
	niraippitu	'It will be filed'
	pōvitu	'It will go'
-atu	*pūkinratu*	'It enters'
	ceyyinratu	'It comes'
	tāḻinratu	'It bows'
-utu	*pōvutu*	'It will go'
	aṭuputu	'It will approach'
	kaṇṭutu	'It saw'
	varunnatu	'It comes'
-ītu	*pōyītu*	'It went'
	paṇṇītu	'It did'
-utu	*ariyāvutu*	'It will not know'
	poruvūtu	'It will fight'

3.9 Neuter plural

-ana is found only in past tense in the early literary records, RC., EMPo., EMPr. and KR (upto Middle Mal.) and in Eluttacchan's work, the neuter plural participial noun forms with *-ā* *apoḻiccava* 'those which showered' is attested.

-ana	*taṭuttana*	'They obstructed'
	pōyana	'They went'
	vannana	'They came'
	kalamnnana	'They joined'

From the historical point of view, the gradual loss of PGN suffixes in the finite verbs of the written records has

been noted by Ramaswami Aiyer (1936:53). To Quote: "All the types for which personal endings are envisaged by Līl. do not have these endings in KG and not all types showing the personal endings are represented in Eluttacchan). This gradualness may have been purely literary". The detailed study undertaken above confirms the observation of LVR. In more specific terms, one can say now that the loss of the plural suffixes is more common than the loss of singular suffixes. For instance, the loss of the second person suffix *-ir* is attested in all the records except KR, the loss of the first person plural suffix in EB and ER and the loss of epicene plural and the neuter plural in KG, EB and ER. Interestingly, the neuter plural suffix *-itu* is extended to the other persons and the *ceyyum* pattern (the root + the future tense suffix *-um)* which is found only in OT and MT in the third person, masculine singular, feminine singular, neuter singular and neuter plural is extended to other persons and other numbers. So, the history of the extension of *-itu* and the *ceyyum* pattern has to be discussed to understand the evolution.

3.10 Use of finite verbs with *-itu/-utu*

With regard to the use of *-itu* as PGN suffix with the subjects of various PGN nouns, the following information is available: In the early inscriptions. (Chandrasekhar, 1955:111), there is one occurrence with the epicene plural subject: *uvaccakal eḻutitu* 'washermen wrote' (10th cent.). Ramaswami Aiyer has noted many instances in the literary records: RC naŋŋaḷ *pugundidu* 'we entered', *avan avadarittitu* 'he was born'; Unniyāṭicaritam. *candran kalpiccukoḷvutu* 'Chandran orders;' Unninīlicandēsam. *nān vaḷanninṟutu* 'I request' (Sukumar Pillai 1985:72). In EMPr., Retnamma (1976:76 f.n.) has simply noted in a foot note that *-itu/-atu/-utu* are used as non-gender plural markers in certain examples and calculated the total number of finite verbs with PGN suffix and the number of the occurrences of *-tu/-atu/-utu* (p.33 of introduction). "Out of a total 42 F(inite) V(erbs) which take gender-

number markers, 23 i.e. 54.7% take *-atu/itu/utu* as the marker and the remaining 45.3% is shared by other PGN suffixes" (Retanamma, 1976:33). In EMPr this suffix occurs with 1st p.mas.sg. and ne.p. (Velayudhan Pillai, 1973:134-6). KR has this suffix with all persons according to Ramaswami Aiyer (1936:58) but he has given the illustrations for ep.p. *(mahakalpaka vṛksadikaḷ āyidu),* mas.s (*dasarathan koDuttidu* 'Dasaratha gave') and Ramachandran (1973:105) has noted the occurrence of mas.s. and ne.pl according to Gopinatha Pillai (1978:213-305). ER has this suffix with all PGN. In general, Ramaswami Aiyer observes thus: 'The use of *-idu* or *-udu* as an expletive instead of personal endings) for all tense forms of all persons, indicating that even in the literature of the time, personal endings were on the 'road to ruin'. Since the impersonal *-idu/udu* is attested from the earliest inscriptions along with the absence of PGN suffixes, it should be a dialectal change.

3.11 *-um*

The occurrence of *-um* in the future finite verbs with more than one PGN has been noted by many but the detailed information to understand the evolution is not available in all the texts noted above. In the early inscriptions, *-um* occurs with the mas.s and ne.s. only (Chandrasekhar, 1953:112). In EMPr. there is no clear statement about the distribution of this suffix but the way in which the description is made, one can assume its occurrence with the 1st.p. In *Unninīlisandēsam,* it occurs with mas.s. fe.s., ne.s. and ne.p. (Sukumara Pillai 1985:73). Ramaswami Aiyer (1936:66f) has noted the occurrence of this suffix in the following texts RC: *ep.p.paDaayum mannavarum muDiiyum* 'the army and the king will be finished' (Bh.G.4.9). KR.ep.p. *ivar ninne aṟiyum* 'they know you', KG. Ind. p.s. *nalgum nī* 'you will give', 2nd.p. *niṅṅal kūDum* 'you(pl.)join', *taṅṅaḷum nīyum nassicu pōmē* 'they and you will die'. So, the extension of *-um* for the first and second person and the third person

ep.p. subjects should be a special innovation in Mal. This would complete the absence of PGN suffix in the future tense.

3.12 Without PE

When *-p/v/m* is the future tense suffix, it should have PGN suffix like the past tense and the present tense and the absence of PGN when the tense suffix is present is a historical development. Some information is available with regard to the loss of PGN suffix in the finite verbs. In early inscriptional records, and even from the earliest literary records (i.e. from RC) the past tense forms without PGN suffix are found. But the present tense without tense PGN suffix is found from earliest literary records (i.e. from RC) the past tense forms without PGN suffix are found. But the present tense without PGN suffix is found from earliest literary records only. Moreover, in the descriptive studies of some literary records, some statistical information is available with regard to presence and absence of PGN suffix.

RC has roughly 85% forms with PGN suffixes and 15% without them (Personal communication from Dr. P.Gopalakrishnan Nair). EMPo. has 56.7% with PGN suffixes and 43.3% without them. Even among the forms with PGN suffixes, the common suffix *-itu* occurs 54.7% and other PGN suffixes 45.3% (Retnamma, 1976:32f). KR has 67% in the former category and 33% in the latter (Ramachandaran 1973:105) ER has 65% and 35% respectively (Gopinatha Pillai 1978:52) while in EB the situation is reverse, i.e. 32.6% with PGN and 67.4% without PGN. Among the forms with PGN suffixes, 1st.p. has 4% 2nd. 6% mas.s. 51%, fem.s. 13% and ep.p., 26%. That is, the language of ER is archaic while the language of EB is modern. The discrepancy between EB and ER can be explained by two accounts; i. literary quality and social function. EB is considered to be more poetic and a master piece in the language when compared to ER

(Ezhuthachan, 1977:47). EB is used as literary text read by the scholars and common men while EB is used as dramatic text and so employed by the theatre people, and so the language had been changed by the theatre.

3.13 Lengthening of the final vowel of the past tense form

The lengthening of the final vowel of the past tense forms without PGN suffixes is found from the earliest literary records, RC., KR., Chandrotsvam and ER. Ramaswami Aiyer (1936:54) has given the form with long vowel *(ceŋŋi kaṭāṣam 4.2)* from the commentary of *Lilatilakam* but has not noted as a special feature. Rajaraja Varma (1917 Piṭhika 12.4 and S.107 com.) has not only noted the lengthening of the final vowel of the finite verbs (quality of the vowel) without PGN suffixes in the written language, but also the change of the quality of the vowels of the finite verbs and the verbal participle in the spoken language. There are a few cases of lengthening of the present tense finite verbs and the verbal participle in the spoken language. There are a few cases of lengthening of the present tense finite froms without PGN suffix: *pōkinru* '(some one is) going' in EMPr (Velayudhan Pillai, 1973:135).

4. Historical development in Malayalam

Historical development can be discussed from the comparative point of view especially from the prehistory and from the historical point of view especially from the recorded history. Ramaswami Aiyer (1936) has discussed both the developments and Subrahmanyam (1994) the recorded history with special reference to the kinds of mechanisms involved in the loss of agreement.

As noted above, the earliest inscriptions have three subsystems: i. the presence of PGN suffixes with all the three tenses, past, present and future tenses with *-p/v/m*

suffixes and not with *-um*. ii. the occurrence of ne.s. *-itu* with other PGN subject nouns, and iii. the absence of PGN suffixes in the past finite verbs. From the earliest literary records, another subsystem, i.e. the lengthening of the final vowel of the past tense finite verbs without PGN suffixes is found. Additionally, the loss of PGN suffix is found in the present tense even form the earliest literary records.

Of these four features, Malayalam is considered to have inherited the first feature from PDr. but the forms of PGN suffixes are closely related to MT forms and the other three features are special innovations in Pre Malayalam. But the detailed study of OT and EMT records reveals that there are some traces of the third feature in Tamil.

Ramaswami Aiyer (1936:53) has observed that the suffixes of PGN in Mal. are related to MT both positively, i.e. the presence of the forms of MT and negatively, i.e. the absence of some suffixes in OT. But it should be noted now that the addition of *-kaḷ* with the second person plural *(īrkaḷ)* and ep.p. *(ārkaḷ)* is not recorded in Mal.

As noted in the introduction, there are a few forms of past tense without PGN suffix in OT. and the present tense without PGN suffix. It is to be pointed out that the form *mun̲n̲in̲ṟu* '(it) stood in the front' *(Ainkuṟunūṟu 52.4)* occurs in the poem which forms part of collections connected with the Chera King. i.e. ancient Kerala. Another feature to be noted is the absence of PGN suffix when particle like *-ena*, *-an̲n̲a* and *āŋku* are added and the form is interpreted as finite verb.

-en̲a : cellunar... tan̲akku uraitten̲a maṟaiyin̲al 'celpavar tan̲akku uraittār enpatāl' Here *uraittu* is interpreted as *uraittār*, i.e. as mas. hon.s. *(Akanān̲ūṟu. 299:10)*

nāṭan varaintena..... enranan Nāṭan totaṉkiṉāṉāka... enru kēṭṭēṉ. Here *varaintu* is interpreted as *varaintāṉ* i.e. mas.s. *(Kuruntokai. 389.4)*.

But in the case of other particles, the VP forms are interpreted as ne.s. finite form but the subject can be both ne.s. and pronouns.

-aṉṉa : pori citariyaṉṉa 'pori citariyatu pōla'. Here *citari* is taken as *citariyatu*, ne.s.

muri kaṇṭaṉṉa 'muri kaṇṭatu pōla. 'Here *kaṇṭu* is taken as *kaṇṭatu*, ne.s

-āŋku : pāl nilattukkāŋku 'pāl nilattil ukkatu, pōla'. Here *ukku* is taken as *ukkatu*, i.e. ne.s. *Kur.27.2*.

mākkaḷ teyvam kaṭ kaṇṭ āŋku 'mākkaḷ teyvattai kaṇṇāl kaṇṭātu pōla.' Here *kaṇṭatu*, i.e. ne.s. *Narrinai. 9.4*.

nīyuŋ kaṇṭāŋku uraiyāy 'nīyuŋ kaṇṭatu pōlac collu' Here *kaṇṭu* is taken as *kaṇṭatu*. *Nar. 291.5.8*.

In these cases they are syntactically bound. But in Mal., they are free. So they should have undergone additional innovation.

Subrahmanyam (1994) has noted that the pattern of *-um* occurring as the predicate of the subject of all PGN nouns should have served as analogy for the past and the present tense forms to shed their personal suffix. This seems to be overgeneralization, because the detailed textual study undertaken above reveals some intermediary changes. The occurrence of *-itu* which is originally ne.s., as a common PGN suffix reveals that there was morphological neutralisation in some dialects. As noted above the loss of PGN suffix should have taken place first in the past tense and then only in the present tense.

The commentary of *Līlātilakam* throws some light on the evolution of the loss of agreement. It has noted the loss of PGN suffix only in the neuter singular and optionally in masculine and feminine forms. In the commentary of first sutra, when contrasting the linguistic features of Ta. and Mal. the loss of PGN in the neuter singular has been noted:

Ta	Mal	
kūvir̲r̲u	*kūvi*	'It called'
tāvir̲r̲u	*tāvi*	'It jumped'
uṇṭan̲ar	*uṇṭār*	'They(hum.) ate'
tin̲r̲an̲ar	*tin̲r̲ār*	
uṇṇānin̲r̲an̲ar	*uṇṇinrār*	'They(hum.) eat'
uṇpar	*uṇmar*	'They(hum.) will eat'
varuvār	*varuvar*	'They(hum.) will come'
koḷvar	*koṇmār*	'They(hum.) will get'

In the commentary of S.34, the ep.p future tense forms with PGN suffix like *kāṇmar* 'they will see', *kēḷpar* 'they will ask', *varuvar* 'they will come' are found. In the commentary of S.36, *vannu* 'came' and *pōyi* 'went' are given as past tense forms without the masculine and feminine gender which can also be used as ne.s. and ne.p. All these things show that the loss of agreement was taking place slowly during this time. Another interesting observation made in the commentary is that the loss is not found in the speech of low classes. If so, the loss of the feature began in upper class and the change spread to the lower class in the subsequent period.

The lengthening of the final vowel of the finite verbs without PGN suffix should have taken place to avoid homonymic clash between the past verbal participle and the finite verb. This is a case of morphological neutralisation of PGN suffix and the development of contrast between the finite verb and verbal participle by the vowel lengthening. This seems to be a new historical process of phonologisation. So far, two historical

processes, grammaticalisation which refers to the process of development of a bound morpheme from a lexeme)In Mal. the desiredative morpheme *-e:nam* is developed from the lexeme, *vēṇum* 'desire (some things') and lexicalisation which refers to the process of the development of a lexeme from the bound morpheme (the occasional use of *ism* as a noun in English is a case in point).

5. Sociolinguistic attitude

Since the loss of PGN suffix in the finite verbs is one of the major differences between Mal. and Tamil which is geographically contiguous and genetically closer and also had common history for nearly a millennium, the historical explanation of the loss reveals the sociolinguistic attitude of the Malayalam scholars. Eventhough the commentary of *Līlātilakam* was a strong advocate of the autonomy of Malayalam (Shanmugam 1995), he has not made any historical statement probably becasue the loss was not complete during his period.

Rajaraja Varma (1917) has given the loss of agreement in the finite verbs as one of six major rules differentiating Mal. from Ta, in his introduction, but he seems to oscillate about its historicity whether it is an inherited feature from PDr. or the special innovation in Mal. (Venugopala Panikkar 1981:78f). In the later part of the introduction, (.12.4) he has given arguments for the support of loss. When the Nambudri Brahmins who knew some IA languages which have different concord system from the then spoken language of Kerala migrated to Kerala and adapted the native language, they might have accelerated the process of loss. This means that the loss is a historical development whatever may be the cause. But in the commentary of S.53, he has argued that the introduction of PGN suffixes in the ancient Dravidian could not be very old because of the similarity between the PGN suffixes and the corresponding pronouns is very apparent even to those who do not know grammar. Moreover Mal. should

have separated from Ta. even before the introduction of PGN suffixes in the finite verbs. In the commentary of S.108, Rajaraja Varma argues on the basis of the future tense suffix *-um* where there is no PGN suffix in the finite verbs even in Tamil that the addition of PGN suffix in the finite verbs should be absent in OT also. This means that the absence of PGN suffix is an ancient feature shared by Mal and O.T. and the addition of PGN suffix in the finite verbs is a later innovation in Tamil. His arguments are only speculative and he seems to oscillate between the two features of standard language, autonomy and historicity.

George (1958) argued that the absence of PGN suffix in the finite verbs is a retention from PDr. which had no PGN suffix in the finite verbs. His arguments are as follows: i. Crude simplicity is a 'primitive quality'. The uninflected stage represents this primitive simplicity. The simplicity of Mal. verb is most probably the primitive simplicity (p.79), ii. The verbal root should have been used as the finite verb in the primitive Dravidian, and in the next stage, tense suffixes should have been added and in the final stage only, PGN should have been added. Even Brahui preserves the true nature of Dravidian language in using the primitive verbal form as imperative singular (p.80). iii. By comparing the present tense finite verb forms of Ta., Te. and Ka. he concludes thus: "The roots of the basic verbs are common to all the Dravidian languages whereas the personal terminations are not the same. Therefore the natural conclusion is that what is common they inherited form the parent and what is not common had been added on later independently. These languages must have been separated in the former stage of great freedom... the probability, therefore, is that Mal. must have left the family before such tendency took root in the language and remained without contact for some time at least" (p.81-2). His final remark is as follows: "The Dravidian verb was originally uninflected that Mal. continues in that state probably because it left the parent language at a stage when there was no inflection and had to remain without

contact till the forms were firmly fixed, that the pronominal terminations found in ancient Malayalam poetry represents only a passing phase owing to the strong influence of Tamil on the literary style of Mal. and it never affected the colloquial language" (p.87). His comparison is now questionable because of the concept of subgroups within Dravidian languages makes Mal. closer to Tamil than any other languages and so also his general statement about the spoken and written language. His statements are now considered to be speculative and lack serious empirical study. Even though Ramaswami Aiyer in 1936 has strongly argued against this popular opinion prevalent among the native Malayalam scholars, the repetition of the same arguments by George shows their sociolinguistic attitude towards the development of Mal. Now one can say that they wish to emphasise the autonomy of Mal. even from the point of historical linguistics while the commentary of *Līlātilakam* stressed the autonomy from the descriptive point of view.

Most of modern scholars who had formal training in modern linguistics are aware of the fact that the most of ancient texts including Tuncattu Eluttaccan's works have both the presence and absence of agreement and so it is now commonly accepted that the loss of argument is a later historical development. So, it can be equated to the feature, historicity, of standard language.[1]

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[1] This is part of research undertaken as a Senior Fellow of Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

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Agreement Features and Markers in Tamil

V. RENUGA DEVI

1. Introduction

The working definition for agreement given by Moravcsik (1978:333) is "a grammatical constituent A will be said to agree with a grammatical constituent B in properties C in language L, if C is a set of meaning-related properties of constituent B across some subset of the sentences of language L, where constituent B_1 is adjacent to B and the meaning related non-categorical properties of constituent B_1 are the properties of C."

	A	B	B_1
(1)	*kītā*	*pū*	*paṟikkiṟāḷ*
	Geetha	flower	is plucking
	'Geetha is plucking the flower'		

Properties C are Person, Number and Gender (PNG) and language L is Tamil.

In the above sentence the verb is said to agree with the subject in person, number and gender in Tamil because there is a relationship of covariance between the PNG specifications of the subject noun and the phonological shape of the verb suffix across a subset of those sentences of the language that are in third person singular feminine the suffix is *-āḷ* and if it is third person singular masculine the suffix is āṉ.

(2) *avaḷ* *vantāḷ* 'She came'
(3) *avaṉ* *vantāṉ* 'He came'

In the example (1) the constituents A i.e. the subject noun *Kīta* 'Geetha' and B i.e. the verb *parikkiraḷ* 'is plucking' will be called agreeing constituents; the constituent B_1 the verbal suffix *-aḷ* will be called agreement

marker and properties C - person, number and gender will be called agreement properties/features.

The agreement constituents subject noun, personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns occur in the subject slot of the sentence whereas the verb, the verbal noun, adjectival noun etc., occur in the predicate slot of the sentence.

The purpose of this paper is to bring out some generalizations concerning the agreement features and agreement markers in Tamil. Agreement in Tamil is a grammatical device through which the semantic properties such as person, number and gender of one constituent are manifested in the structure of another constituent within a sentence by means of some phonological markers. The predicate of a sentence agrees with the subject of the same sentence in PNG.

2. Agreement features: Person, number and gender

In Tamil the agreement feature person has First, Second and Third person distinction, number has singular and plural distinction and gender has masculine, feminine and neuter distinction in verb.

First person

Singular	*nāṉ vant-ēṉ*	'I came'
Plural(incl.)	*nām vant-ōm*	'We came'
(excl.)	*nāŋkal vant-ōm*	'We came'

Second person

Singular	*nī vant-āy*	'You came'
	nīr vant-īr	'You(Hon) came'
Plural	*nīŋkaḷ vant-īrkaḷ*	'You(pl.) came'

Third person (Human)

Singular		
Masc.	*avan̲ vant-ān̲*	'He came'
Femi.	*avaḷ vant-āḷ*	'She came'
Hon.	*avar vant-ār*	'He/She came'

Plural		
	avarkaḷ vant-ārkaḷ	'They came'
	avarkaḷ vant-an̲ar	'They came'
Masc.	*avan̲uŋka vant-ān̲uŋka*	'They came'
Femi.	*avaḷuŋka vant-aḷuŋka*	'They came'[1]

Third person (Non-Human)

Singular	*atu vant-atu*	'It came'
Plural	*avai vant-an̲a*	'They came'

3. Generalizatins

(4) *kul̲ali vantāḷ* 'Kulali came'

In this example the constituent B agrees in gender with the noun even though the noun has no gender affix associated with it.

(5) *avan̲ paṭittān̲* 'He read'
(6) *avaḷpaṭittāḷ* 'She read'
(7) *atu paṭittatu* 'It read'

In the above sentences, the verb agrees in gender with the pronoun. In these sentences, the particular gender property with respect to which agreement takes place is represented by an affix not only in the agreeing constituent - the verb - but also on the controller - the pronoun itself with which agreement takes, in the form of

[1] The distinction of masculinity and femininity in third person human plural is slowly emerging in Tamil. This distinction is attested in modern short stories and novels.

endings *-an̲ - aḷ, -atu.* This shows that there is a simple one-to-one relation between the nominal gender suffixes and the verb suffixes.

(8) *nī paṭittavan̲* 'You are an educated man'
(9) *nī paṭittavaḷ* 'You are an educated woman'

In these sentences the verb agrees with the subject noun in gender; even though masculinity and feminity have no overt markers on the pronoun. From this, one can infer that there can be agreement with a noun whose gender properties are not overtly marked on the noun.

(10) *avan̲ varavillai* 'He didnot came'
(11) *avaḷ varavillai* 'She didnot came'
(12) *atu varavillai* 'It didnot come'
(13) *avarkaḷ varavillai* 'They didnot come'
(14) *avai varavillai* 'They (N.H.) didnot come'

In these sentences the subject pronoun is overtly marked for gender but it is not overtly marked in the agreeing constituent-verb. This shows that the presence of an overṭ gender marker on the noun/ pronoun does not insure agreement on the part of all constituents that could agree with it.

(15) *ravi nin̲r̲ān̲* 'Ravi stood'
(16) *rātai nin̲r̲āḷ* 'Ratai stood'
(17) *maram nin̲r̲atu* 'The tree stood'

These examples show that the masculinity and femininity are overtly marked only for -human nouns but not for the non-human nouns.

(18) *nān vantēn̲* 'I (M/F) came'
(19) *nām vantōm* 'We (M/F) came'
(20) *nī vantāy* 'You (M/F) came'
(21) *nīŋkaḷ vantīrkaḷ* 'You (pl) (M/F) came'
(22) *avan̲ vantān̲* 'He came'
(23) *avaḷ vantāḷ* 'She came'
(24) *avarkaḷ vantārkaḷ* 'They (M/F) came'
(25) *atu vantatu* 'It (M/F) came'
(26) *avai vantan̲a* 'They (M/F) came'

These examples show that masculinity and femininity have overt markers in the constituents A and B of third person singular only.

(27) *intirā kānti vantārkaḷ* 'Indira Gandhi came'

In the above example singularly marked noun takes plural agreement. This is due to socio-cultural reasons.

(28) *avaṉum avaḷum vantārkaḷ* 'He and she came'
(29) *makkaḷ vantārkaḷ* 'People came'

Conjoined nominals and collective nominals take plural agreement in Tamil.

(30) *nāṉ paṭikkiṟēṉ* 'I am reading'
(31) *nī paṭikkiṟāy* 'You are reading'
(32) *avaṉ paṭikkiṟāṉ* 'He is reading'

In Tamil only pronouns have first, second and third person distinctions but not the nouns.

(33) *nāṉ. vantēṉ* 'I came'
(34) *nāŋkaḷ vantōm* 'We (excl.) came'
(35) *nī vantāy* 'You came'
(36) *nīŋkaḷ vantīrkaḷ* 'You (pl.) came'

These sentences show that first and second person pronouns are always human and animate.

(37) *nāŋkal vantōm* 'We (excl.) came'
(38) *nīŋkaḷ vantīrkaḷ* 'You (pl.) came'
(39) *avarkaḷ vantārkaḷ* 'They came'
(40) *avai vantaṉa* 'They (n.h.) came'

In these sentences overt plural marking is found in first, second and third person human and non-human pronouns.

Among the persons, second is more marked than the first person, if we include third, third person is more marked than second person. Evidence is provided by the shape of the plural pronouns. The plural form of the third

person pronoun *-avarkaḷ* is morphologically segementable similar to nominal plural whereas the plural of first and second person pronoun is non-segmentable.

(41)	*avarkaḷ*	*vantārkaḷ*	'They came'
	avar+kaḷ	*vā+nt ār+kaḷ*	third person plural segmentable similar to the nominal plural.
(42)	*nīŋkal*	*vantīrkaḷ*	'You came'
	nī+kaḷ	*vā+nt īr+kaḷ*	Second person plural segmentable but not like nominal plural i.e. irregular
(43)	*nāŋkaḷ*	*vantōm*	'We (excl.) came'
	nā+kaḷ	*vā+nt+ōm*	First person plural unsegmentable
(44)	*nāṉum nīyum pōṉōm'*		I and you went'

In sentence (44) the subject is first and second person singular but the agreement is first person plural rather than second person.

In addition to Greenberg's three person distinction in two numbers (Universal)[2] distinction between first person plural exclusive *(nāŋkaḷ)* and first person plural inclusive *(nām)* is included in Tamil. The inclusive and exclusive distinction is made on the basis of membership of the plural set, whether that includes the second person or not. In English, a language which does not make the distinction, the pronoun 'we' may refer both to a set consisting of 'I' and 'others' but not 'You'. In Tamil *nāṉ* means 'I' *nāŋkaḷ* means 'We not including 'you' -it is therefore the exclusive form and *nām* means 'We' including 'you' it is therefore the inclusive form.

(45) *nāṉ vantēṉ* 'I came'

(46) *nām vantōm* 'We (incl.) came'

(47) *nāŋkaḷ vantōm* 'We (excl.) came'

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[2] "All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three persons and two numbers" (Universal 42).

The first person exclusive plural pronoun *nāŋkaḷ* is segmentable whereas the inclusive pronoun *nām* is not segmentbale.

4. Agreement markers

The agreement markers for three persons, two numbers and masculine, feminine, neuter gender in Tamil are listed below:

(48)	-*ē<u>n</u>*	First person singular
	-*ōm*	First person plural inclusive or exclusive
	-*āy*	Second person singular
	-*īr*	Second person singular honorific
	-*īrkaḷ*	Second person plural
	-*ā<u>n</u>*	Third person singular masculine
	-*āḷ*	Third person singular feminine
	-*ār*	Third person singular honorific (M/F)
	-*ārkaḷ*	Third person plural
	-*a<u>n</u>ar*	Third person plural
	-*ā<u>n</u>uŋka*	Third person plural masculine
	-*āḷuŋka*	Third person plural feminine
	-*atu*	Third person singular neuter
	-*a<u>n</u>a*	Third person plural neuter

These phonological forms of the agreement markers are same as the phonological form of the anaphoric pronouns.

(49) *ava<u>n</u> vantā<u>n</u>* 'He came'

(50) *avaḷ vantāḷ* 'She came'

The agreement markers are identical with the anaphoric pronouns not only in their phonological shape but also in their person, number and gender features. The agreement markers for agreement features PNG are not lexicalised in Tamil. They are expressed by means of bound morphemes. These bound morphemes occur as suffixes. The agreement features PNG are not marked by separate agreement markers. Each and every agreement marker stands for a combination of properties.

(51) *-ēṉ* stands for first person and singular number
(52) *-āḷ* stands for third person, singular number and feminine gender.

The PNG markings are unsegmentable and they constitute the PORTMANTEAU morph.

(53) *-āṉ* — third person / masculine gender / singular number

Among the agreement markers only human plural markers are segmentable.

Agreement marker for first person plural exclusive and inclusive is not distinguished in the constituent B, the verb whereas it is distinguished in the constituent A - pronouns.

(54) *nām vantōm* 'We (incl.) came'
(55) *nāŋkaḷ vantōm* "We (excl) came'

5. Conclusion

The generalizations which are brought out regarding the agreement features and markers in Tamil[3] may hold good for most of the Dravidian languages. This is the basic step or the groundwork to formulate some common factors in agreement for the Dravidian languages.

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[3] For the analysis of agreement markers the dialectal variations of agreement markers are not taken into consideration.

Subject - Predicate Agreement in Malayalam*

R.E. ASHER

It is possible to define agreement in such a way as to make it a universal feature of all languages (see Moravcsik (1978:335)). Even with a less comprehensive definition one finds estimates in the region of three quarters of the world's languages (e.g. Mallinson and Blake (1981:184) for the proportion in which agreement is manifested. Whatever is proposed as the nature of agreement and whatever the scope proposed for the term, the phenomenon can be seen as widespread in Dravidian languages. Working definitions of 'agreement' (or 'concord') take it to apply in cases where in a given language a constituent *p* shares with constituent *q* a meaning-related property *m* and this property is manifested in at least *q* by some identifiable phonological material (cf. Moravcsik (1978:333), Barlow and Ferguson (1988:1) and Corbett (1994:55). Such a definition implies that *m* is inherent in *P* and that this 'governs' its appearance in *q*, which is variable in terms of the feature of *m* that is imposed on it, and it is generally taken to be the case that agreement is directional in this sense (see Corbett (1994:58), Ferguson & Barlow (1988:12-13) and Lehmann (1988:55).

The constituent which governs agreement, the 'controller' (see Aissen 1988, Corbett 1988 and other papers in the same volume) tends to be a noun phrase (subject), direct object or indirect object) or, within a NP, a noun. Phenomena included in the definition of agreement are (i) the agreement of modifiers (e.g., numerals, determiners, adjectives) with the head of a NP, (ii) the

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agreement of anaphoric pronouns with antecedent nouns, and (iii) the agreement of verbs with nouns (and, as already indicated, not only nouns in the subject slot of a sentence). The last two of these three are characteristic of many, though not all, Dravidian languages. Agreement is generally stated not to apply to modifiers of NPs in Dravidian.

As Caldwell puts it (1956:308) 'in the Scythian languages adjective have neither number, gender, nor case, but are mere nouns of relation or quality, which are prefixed without alteration to substantive nouns. In this particular the Dravidian languages present no resemblance to the Sanskrit,... but are decidedly Scythian in character. Dravidian adjectives... acquire the signification of adjectives merely by being prefixed to substantive nouns without declensional change.' To the meaning-related properties listed by Caldwell as being potentially involved in agreement (number, gender and case) it is necessary to add at least person.

It may be that constituent *p* carries an indication in the form of phonological material of the meaning-related property that it governs in *q*, but this is not necessarily the case. Thus, though it is the case that final *-am* in Malayalam or Tamil will tend to indicate a neuter noun and final *-an* a masculine, the presence of such markers of gender is not a defining criterion for the presence of agreement.

It is commonplace of the descriptive grammar of Dravidian that Malayalam is exceptional in not making person, number and gender on finite verbs. Where Tamil, for instance, (has apart from the case of inclusive and exclusive first person plural pronouns, which are associated with the same verbal suffix *-ōm)* a different person/number/gender ending associated with each different pronoun, Malayalam uses the same form, whatever the subject of the sentence: e.g. *koṭuttu* 'give -

PAST', as compared with Tamil *koṭuttēn̲* 'give -PAST –1s', *koṭuttāy* 'give-PAST-2s', *koṭuttān* 'give-PAST.3SM' *koṭuttaaḷ* 'give-PAST-3SF', etc. This position applies for all tenses and all aspects of a verb. Caldwell (1956:482-3) and others have taken the view that at an early stage of the language finite verb forms in Malayalam had, in common with other languages in the family, the tripartite structure stem + tense + person (/number/gender). Then, at a later stage, Malayalam completely dropped the third element. The contrary view -that Malayalam, at least in its colloquial variety did not gain and then lose this personal ending on the verb, but never had it -is put forward in George (1962).

Whatever the historical antecedents of the morphology of finite verbs in Malayalam, the current position is not in dispute: they are not marked for person/number/gender agreement. There is one partial exception to this statement, namely in imperative sentences, where the singular second person pronoun *nī* and the plural/polite pronoun *niŋŋaḷ* colligate with different imperative verb forms: *nī vā-nī varu* 'come (singular)!' as compared with *niŋŋaḷ varuviŋ - niŋŋal variŋ* 'come (plural)!' (On imperative forms, see Narayana Pillai (1995:200)).

In imperative sentences the agreement involves only the category of number. In one type of declarative sentence, however, there is concord between subject nouns and predicates involving both number and gender. This is in copular sentences with an 'adjectival' complement (the general characteristics of copular sentences in Malayalam are outlined in Asher and Kumari (1997:97-105).

The questions that arise with regard to the establishment of 'adjective' as a distinct word class in Dravidian in general and in Malayalam in particular are well known. Thus, Malayalam has less than a dozen 'pure' adjectives, that is to say adjectives which occur as pre-

modifiers of nouns and which cannot readily be analysed as derived forms; examples are *nalla* 'good', *ceriya* 'small', *valiya 'big'* (a full list is given under 'inherent adjectives' by Prabhakara Variar (1979:25)), Moreover, adjectives, including those in the closed set mentioned, do not occur in the same (pre-modifier) form when they are the complement of a copular sentence. In this environment they are nominalised by the addition of a suffix. This suggests the blurring of the distinction between adjective and noun in copular structures. That the distinction nevertheless remains valid is suggested by, among other things, the fact that a nominalised adjective can still take an adverbial modifier (e.g. *vaḷare* 'very', see example (10)).

The set of suffixes that are added when an adjective is in a predicative position is made up of; masculine singular *-an,* feminine singular *-aḷ,* epicene plural *-ar,* neuter singular *-ate,* and neuter plural *-ava.* That is to say that adjectival complements in copular sentences are marked for gender and number. They are not, however, marked for person. The nominalised forms in examples (1)-(4) thereofre contrast with the invariable, un-suffixed form in *nalla kuṭṭi* 'good child', *nalla kuṭṭikaḷ* 'good children', *nalla pustakam* 'good book'.

(1) *mōhanan* *nallavan* *āŋə*
Mohan good-MASC be-PRES
'Mohanan is good'

(2) *kamalam* *nallavaḷ* *āṇə*
Kamala good-FEM be-PRES
'Kamala is good'

(3) *rāmanum* *kiṣṇanum* *nallavar* *āṇə*
Raman-COORD Krishnan-COORD good-PL-HUM be-PRES
'Raman and Krishnan are good'

(4) *pustakam* *nallatə* *āṇə*
book good-NEUT be-PRES
'The book is good'.

In the case of a neuter plural subject, agreement may be for gender only, with the predicate nominal having the neuter singular ending *-atə* rather than the plural *-ava;* see example (5).

(5) ī *pustakaŋŋaḷ* *nallat* *āṇə*
this book-PL good-SING NEUT-be-pres
"These books are good.'

More complex are the instances where a [+HUMAN] is matched with a neuter singular. This may have to do with a general remark about a person (as opposed to a remark made with respect to a particular circumstances):

(6) *mūtta* *makaḷ* *nallatə* *ā(ṇə)*
elder daughter good-NEUT to-PRES
'The elder daughter is good'

A situation that is superficially parallel to this obtains in cleft sentences, in which the nominalised form of the verb is invariable, that is to say the nominalisation is always through the neuter suffix *-atə* as illustrated in examples (7) and (8). These, however, are not to be taken as examples of simple copular sentences.

(7) *innale* *vannatə* *ār-āṇə*
yesterday come-NOML who-be-PRES
'Who is it that came yesterday?'

(8) *innale* *vannatə* *enṟe* *sahōdari* *āṇə*
yesterday come-NOML my sister be-PRES
'It was my sister that came yesterday."

A few nouns are, when taken in isolation, ambiguous as to gender; e.g. *kuṭṭi.* With a singular subject, however, a predicative adjective controlled by such a noun must be marked explicitly as masculine or feminine. That is to say that, even when gender is not inherently present in the source, it must be marked in the constituent that is the target of the agreement:

(9) ī *kuṭṭi nallavan āṇə*
this child good- MASC be-PRES
'This child is good.'

(10) ī *kuṭṭi vaḷare nallavaḷ āṇə*
this child very good- FEM be-PRES
'This child is very good'

Predicate agreement occurs in negative in the same way as in positive sentences.

(11) ñān *innale kaṇṭapaṭamnallatə allāyirunnu*
I yesterday see-RP picture good-NEUI NEG-PAST.
'The picture I saw yesterday was not good one'.

One 'pure' adjective, *cītta* 'bad' is exceptional in having the same form in both attributive and predicative position. It is invariable in the second as in the first, showing no element of agreement as a predicate:

(12a) *makaḷ cītta ā(ṇə)*
daughter bad be-PRES
'The daughter is bad.'

(12b) *makan cītta ā(ṇə)*
son bad be-PRES
'The son is bad.'

(13) *kayaṟe nīḷa muḷḷatə āṇə*
rope long- NEUT be-PRES
'The rope is long'.

Derived adjectives in *-uḷḷə* may also relate to predicates in which the verb is *unṇṭə*. In such cases, there is a dative subject and no agreement between subject and predicate; with the predicate of (14), compare the attributive form *buddhiyuḷḷa*.

(14) ā *vidyārthikkə buddhi uṇṭə*
that student-DAT intelligence have- PRES
'The student is intelligent'

Adjectives derived from verbs are subject to the same process as denominal adjectives. In attributive position they have the form of a past relative participle (otherwise

labelled 'adjectival participle'); e.g., *tanutta (tanukkuka* become cold'). In predicative position, with nominative subject, they are inflected for gender (and, where appropriate, number);

(15) *veḷḷam taṇuttatə āṇə*
water cold-NEUT be- PRES
'The water is cold'

In the examples presented thus far, nominal forms in what have been described as adjectival predicates can be seen as the result of the addition of a suffix to an adjective (simple or complex). In other cases, suffixation is in the reverse direction. That is to say that forms in the predicate of copular sentences sometimes relate to morphologically more complex adjectivals in attributive position. These, contrary to the generalisation that, in NPs in Malayalam, modifiers do not exhibit grammatical agreement with the head noun, can be marked for gender and number. With (16) and (17) may be compared (9) and (10). Corresponding NPs are given in (18) and (19).

(16) *ā kuṭṭi miṭukkan āṇə*
that child clever- MASC be- PRES
'That child is clever.'

(17) *ā kuṭṭi miṭukki āṇə*
that child clever- FEM be- PRES
'That child is clever.'

(18) *miṭukkanāya kuṭṭi*
clever MASC child
'clever child/clever boy'.

(19) *miṭukkiyāya kuṭṭi*
clever- FEM child
'clever child/clever girl.'

These examples, despite the superficial similarity between (16) and (17) on the one hand and (9) and (10) on the other, nevertheless need to be distinguished from this latter pair. In copular sentences with adjectival predicates, the marking of gender is obligatory and the selection of gender suffix is determined by semantic features of the

subject - even where, as in the case of *kuṭṭi,* it is not possible to state out of context which gender the noun belongs to. In (18) and (19), it is membership of subset of derived adjectives that requires that such noun modifiers must be marked for gender. Adjectives not belonging to this set (such as *nalla)* are invariable.

From such data as those presented above, certain generalisations about agreement in Malayalam become possible. Firstly, the source of agreement or the controller is always a nominal. Secondly, the target is usually an adjective, provided that one accepts a distinction between adjectival and nominal predicates in copular sentences. The qualification that has to be added in the latter case relates to clearly nominal predicates where a choice has to be made between one of two forms which differ only in the final -VC or -V of the word. The variation is most commonly *-an* (MASC) *-i* (FEM), though there are other possibilities. The set of such pairs is not large, but it is feely expandable, particularly through the use of the pair of suffixes *-kāran* and *-kāri*. Examples include:

snēhitan/ snēhiti	'friend'
vidyārthi/ vidārtthini	'student'
tōṭṭakkāran/ tōṭṭakkāri	'gardner'
orīssākkāran/ orīssākkāri	'person from Orissa'
kūṭṭukkāran/ kūṭṭikāri	'companion, friend'

In (20) and (21), the nominal form chosen for the predicate is determined by the gander of the subject. It is therefore possible to claim that in examples of this sort the target of agreement is a noun.

(20) *gōpi enṟe kūṭṭkāran āṇǝ*
Gopi I-GEN friend- MASC be-PRES
'Gopi is my friend'

(21) *avaḷ* *enṟe* *kūṭṭkkāri* *āṇ∂*
She I-GEN friend- FEM be- PRES
'She is my friend.'*

In the languages of the world, a variety of grammatical categories is involved in the phenomenon of agreement, among them gender, number, case and person. In Dravidian in general, case is excluded, and in Malayalam person also. Of the remaining two categories, it is possible to argue for gender as the dominant one in this respect, but only on the perhaps rather weak grounds that in a stretch of text or discourse, there are likely to be more instances of gender agreement than of number agreement. The targets for gender agreement (in terms of grammatical categories affected) are different from -and less in number than - those in other languages, such as French or German, for instance. It could be a productive area of research to investigate the extent to which these differences correlate with different types of gender systems. Dravidian languages are characterised by a semantic gender system, in which it is enough to know the meaning of a noun in order to determine its gender. This contrast with formal systems, in which, though the semantic element is never entirely absent, morphology and/or phonology have an important role (see Corbett (1991:7-62)).

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* This term has to be broadly interpreted so as to include infinitives or verbal nouns, as in iŋlīs *parṭhikkuka eḷuppam āṇ∂* 'Learning English is easy.'

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Politeness Agreement across Tamil Dialects

V. GNANASUNDARAM

I. Introduction

Human behaviour, verbal or otherwise, is polite to the extent that it satisfies the requirements for facile interaction. Honorifics permit the speaker to express his relationship to the addressee and the nominal referents in a highly codified manner. They indicate a speaker's recognition of the power and personal integrity of the person spoken to or talked about, and conversely they indicate a speaker's social and psychological position in relation to the involved parties. Thus honorifics remove potential conflict and facilitate communication. It is precisely because of this function of honorifics for smooth communicative interaction that they instantiate a proto typical case of politeness phenomena of language user and this in turn inspires a study of honorifics within the framework of general theories of linguistic politeness, a field gaining increasing attention due to works such as Lakoff (1975) and Brown and Levinson (1987).

Honorifics refers to the linguistic forms that are used as signs of deference towards the nominal addressee i.e. referents. The systems of honorifics constitutes an integral component of the politeness dimension of language use. Every language appears to have ways of expressing politeness and only certain languages have well developed honorifics (Shibatani 1994).

Honorific languages are more strongly indexical or deitic, than those languages like English that lack an elaborate honorific system. The traditional grammatical category of person as reflected, e.g. in pronouns and verb agreements involve the most basic deictic notions. Honorifics in world languages are often thought of as an

aspect of person deixis but in reality it is a separate dimension of 'social deixis'. Honorifics encode the speakers social relationship to another party - frequently the addressee - on a dimension of rank.

There are two kinds of honorifics found in many of the world languages. One is called the referent honorifics, where the honoured party is referred to and the other one is 'non-referent addressee honorifics', where honour or respect is signalled without addressing to the addressee. The familiar pronouns of respect such as in Modern written Tamil *ni:nkaḷ* 'you plural/you singular honorific' referring to the addressee. But also there are languages such as Korean, Japanese, etc. in which it is possible to describe any situation and signal a particular degree of respect to the addressee by a choice between alternate lexical and grammatical items.

2. An attempt has been made in this paper to study as to how the pronouns of Tamil dialects especially the second person pronouns are the targets of honorific elaborations towards politeness agreement from the 'social deixis' point of view. In addition to the above, the use of first person and third person pronouns across Tamil dialects are also studied. It is a known fact that politeness is expressed in Tamil also through pronouns which carry honorifics and through their respective verbal concords.

Tamil is a diglossic language (Ramaswami 1997). Besides its diglossic nature, Tamil has regional as well as social (caste) dialects (Sreenivasa Varma 1992). Also a neutral variety, neutral to any region and caste is evolved which is known as Standard Spoken Tamil (SST) (Annamalai 1997 and Gnanasundaram 1980). For comparison purposes forms of old Tamil origin and non-standard dialect forms are included. The following tables 1 and 2 illustrate (i) pronouns in Tamil: Modern written Tamil and Standard Spoken Tamil and (ii) the honorifics in second person pronouns in some of the Tamil dialects.

TABLE I

Pronouns in Tamil and their verbal concord: Modern Written Tamil (MWT) Vs Standard Spoken Tamil (SST)

	PRONOUN		CONCORD	
	MWT	SST	MWT	SST
I Person Singular	*na:n*	*nā:*	*-e:n*	*-ē*
I Person Singular (Humble)	*aTiye:n*		*-e:n*	
I Person Plural (inclusive)	*na:m*	*na:me*	*-o:m*	*-ō:*
I Person Singular (exclusive)	*na:nkaL*	*na:nke*	*-o:m*	*-o:*
II Person Singular (Non-honorific)	*ni:*	*ni:*	*-a:y*	*-e*
II Person Singular (Less Honorific)	*ni:r*	**ni:r*	*-i:r*	*-i:ru*

(* Only in certain regional/caste dialects not in SST)

II Person Singular (Honorific)	*ni:nkaL*	*ni:nke*	*-i:rkaL*	*-i:nke*
II Person Plural (Honorific/non honorific)	*ni:nkaL*	*ni:nke*	*- i:rkaL*	*-i:nke*
II Person Singular (More Honorific)	**ta:nkaL*		*-i:rkaL*	

* Third person reflexive pronoun originally. Not in Modern Written Tamil

III Person Mas. (Sing. Non hon.)	*avan*	*avē*	*-a:n*	*-ā:*

III Person Mas. Pl. Non hon. *only in certain dialects	**avenuvo*		*-uvo*	
III Person Fem. Sg. Non hon.	*avaL*	*ave*	*-a:L*	*-a:*
III Person Fem. pl. non hon. only in certain dialects	*aveLuvo*		*-uvo*	
III Person Hum. Hon. Sg.	*avar* (Also *avar* is used as pl. in old Tamil)	*avaru* (Mas. only) *avanke* (Mas/Fem.)	*-a:r*	*-a:ru* *a:nke*
III Person Hum. pl. (Hon./Non hon.)	*avarkaL*	*avanke*	*-a:rkaL*	*-a:nke*
III Person Non hum. Sg.	*atu*	*atu*	*-atu*	*-atu*
III Person Non hum. pl. * in old Tamil	* *avay* *avaykaL*	*atunke*	*-ana*	*-tunke*

TABLE 2
Honorific elaboration of second person pronouns across Tamil dialects

Modern Written Tamil (MWT)	Dialect 1 Kanyakumari Nadar dialect	Dialect2 Brahmin (Also Pillai/ Mudaliar of Kanyaku -mari/South Tamil Nadu	Dialect 3 other Non-Brahmin dialects (Also SST)	Dialect4 North Tamil-nadu
ni: II Person Sg. Non-hon.	*ni:*	*ni:*	*ni:*	*ni:* II Person Sg. Non-hon.
**ni:r* II Person Sg. Less hon. *not in MWT	*ni:r*	*ni:r*		
ni:nkaL II. person Sg. hon. **ta:nkaL* II person Sg. more hon. *not in MWT	*ni:nke*	*ni:nke* (*ni:viya*)	*ni:nke*	
ni:nkaL II person pl.	*ni:nke*	*ni:nke*	*ni:nike*	*ni:nke* II Person pl.

2.1 The overall written Tamil or what is known as the H(igh) variety of Diglossic Tamil has a five-way distinction regarding second person pronouns. But the Modern Written Tamil has only a three-way system viz. *ni:* 'you singular non honorific'. *ni:nkaL* 'you, singular, honorific' and *ni:nkaL* 'you plural', (Annamalai and Steever 1998).

In overall H variety of Tamil, honorifics are elaborated in the three-way system. There is an increasing grade of politeness expressed form *ni:r* to *ni:nkaL* to *ta:nkaL.* The formal Tamil *ni:r* and the same form with the same meaning available in certain dialects of Tamil are used generally, when both the speaker and the addressee are equal in terms of age, social rank, etc. The form *ta:nkaL* in the overall H variety, but not prevalent in Modern Written Tamil is used when the addressee is required to be addressed with more respect such as religious heads, etc. Also this usage is found in historical novels, dramas, etc., when the addressee is a king or queen or religious head.

The intermediary form viz. *ni:r* is available in Brahmin's speech Pillai - Mudaliar contiuum of South Tamil Nadu and other non-Brahmin dialects, of Kanyakumari - not in the non-Brahmin dialects of other regions of Tamil Nadu. In Brahmin dialect it has been observed that the form *ni:r* is used to an addressee, instead of the full honorific form *ni:nke* even though the addressee is superior in terms of age and occupation but not equal in terms of caste hierarchy.

In most of the regional dialects, it appears that there is a three-way distinction among the II person pronouns: *ni:* is used when the addressee is not superior or equal. *ni:nke* with a singular honorific meaning is used when the addressees is superior or equal and the same form with a plural meaning is used when the addressees are many in number.

ni:nke with a plural meaning is a neutral form which does not mark with honorific/non honorific distinction. But meaning is derived form the context. In the sentence *ni:nke enkeTa: po:ri:nke* 'Where do you (plural) go?' Here the form *ni:nke* is attributed with the non-honorific meaning because of the non honorific masculine addressive term – *Ta:*. In the sentence *ni:nke enke sa:r po:ri:nke* the form *ni:nke* gets the meaning of 'you singular honorific' because of the word *sa:r* with the meaning of 'sir', in the sentence.

In the Tamil dialect(s) of North Tamilnadu viz. the larger geographical area comprising of former Madras, Chengleput, North Arcot and some parts of South Arcot districts - historically known as Tondaimandalam area (Gnanasundaram, 1973) one may observe a two-way distinction only in the second person pronouns. The forms used are *ni:* and *ni:nke* only. The same form *ni:* is used in contexts where at one time the addressee may be lower in status in terms of social rank, age, etc. and another time the addressee may be higher in status in terms of occupation, social rank, age, etc. The second person pronoun with the meaning of singular viz. *ni:* of this area unlike in other Tamil dialects, does not inherently carry the meaning distinction namely the non-honorific/ honorific. Interpretation regarding meaning has to be made out of context only. The form *ni:* gets different meaning in different contexts. In the sentence *ni: gammunu keTā sā:r* 'Sir, you please remain clam'. In the other sentence viz. *ni: gammunukeTa Ta: so:ma:ri* 'you lazy fellow, remain quietly'. *ni:* in the former sentence, gets the honorific meaning and in the latter sentence non honorific meaning, *ni:nke* is used only with a plural meaning not with extended meaning of singular honorific like in the dialects of other areas. This is one of the important reasons for the Tamil speakers who have inherited a three-way second person pronoun system to misunderstand the Tamil speakers of this Tondaimandalam region, when the former come in contact with the latter who have a two-way second person pronoun system. When they confront with the speech habits of the Tondaimandalam (North Tamilnadu) region especially when the same form *ni:* is used to every addressee with different social ranks, erroneously interpret that politeness phenomenon is absent in this dialect. As said earlier, unlike in other areas/dialects the plural form *ni:nke* is not used with the Singular honorific meaning. But the meaning honorific is also available in the form *ni:*

The following table may illustrate the point so far discussed regarding the second person pronoun system available in North Tamilnadu dialect(s):

TABLE 3
Second person pronouns: North Tamilnadu dialect(s)

Form and meaning	Inherent meaning	Contextual meanings
ni: Second person singular	No honorific/ non-honorific distinction	Secondperson sing/ non honorific Second person sing. honorific
ni:nke Second person plural	Plurality only Non extension of singular meaning	Second person plural non-honorific

2.2. Pronouns could be studied/viewed from the dichotomy of power based and solidarity based honorific pattern. The second person pronouns *ni:r* (intermediary honorific form) and *ni:* (non-honorific form) function as solidarity based honorific forms. *ni:* is also used generally as solidarity based honorific form among parents and children, elder siblings and younger siblings in Tamil dialects.

Man addresses his wife, educated or uneducated, with a II person singular non-honorific form but the wife in turn, in a public context, addresses her husband with a power based honorific form viz. *ni:nke*. But among the less educated or uneducated strata of society and among the lower economic strata, the solidarity based honorific form *ni:* is generally used between husband and wife. In Srilanka Tamil especially the Jaffna Tamil dialect, parents use the honorific singular form *ni:nke* to address their children.

3. Honorific elaboration of III person pronouns in some of the Tamil dialects is taken for discussion in this section.

TABLE 4
Third person pronouns in Tamil dialects

Modern Written Tamil	SST	North Tamilnadu Dialect	Kanyakumari Dialect	Brahmin Dialect
avan Mas.Sg.	*avẽ*	*avẽ* Mas. Sg. *avanuo* Mas. Pl.	*avẽ* Mas. Sg. *avenuke* Mas. Pl.	*avẽ* Mas. Sg.
avaL Fem.Sg.	*ave*	*ave* Fem.Sg. *avaLuo* Fem. Pl.	*ave* Fem.Sg. *avaLuke* Fem. Pl.	*ave* Fem.Sg.
avar Hum.	*avaru* Mas.hon.	*avaru* Mas.hon.Sg.	*aviye* Hum.hon.Sg	*ava:* Hum.hon.Sg.
avar(kaL) Hum.hon. Sg. Hum.hon.Pl.	*avanke* Fem. hon.Sg.	*avanke* Fem.hon. Sg.	*aviye* Hum.hon. Pl	*ava:* Hum.hon.Pl.
atu Non Hum.Sg.	*atu* Non Hum.Sg.	*atu* Non Hum.Sg. Hum.fem.Sg.	*atu* Non Hum.Sg. Hum.fem.Sg.	*atu* Non Hum.Sg.
avar(kaL) Non Hum.Pl.	*atunke* Non Hum.Pl.	*atunke* Non Hum.Pl. Hum. fem.Pl.	*atuke* Non Hum.Pl. Hum. fem.Pl.	*atunke* Non Hum.Pl.

In modern Written Tamil the forms *avar* and *avarkaL* represent the third person human singular and third

person human plural, respectively. Whereas in Standard Spoken Tamil and North Tamilnadu dialect *avaru* represents masculine singular honorific, *avanke* represents feminine singular honorific or masculine/ plural feminine depending upon the context.

Brahmin dialect has the form *ava:* representing human honorific, both singular and plural. Similarly in Kanyakumari dialect the form *aviya* represents human honorific, both singular and plural. Standard Spoken Tamil and North Tamilnadu dialect innovated two honorific forms one for masculine and other one for feminine. The innovation is towards the inclusion of 'honorific' to the feminine gender.

The non-human singular and plural forms namely *atu* and *atunke* indicate respectively feminine singular and feminine plural in North Tamilnadu dialect and the forms *atu* and *atuke* indicate, similarly the same meaning in Kanyakumari dialect besides indicating the original non-human singular and non-human plural meanings. Convergence due to Telugu bilingualism may be responsible for the non-human pronouns in north Tamilnadu towards the acquisition of the new meaning viz. feminine. Regarding the forms of Kanyakumari it is difficult to give similar explanation. However, this indicates clearly the gender discrimination as for as politeness and honorifics are concerned.

The forms *atu, atunke* in North Tamilnadu dialect and *atu, atuke* in Kanyakumari dialect are used as solidarity based honorific forms. Instead of uttering *tankacci vanta:* 'Younger sister came', it is customary to say *tankacci vantutu* or *atu vantutu* 'Younger sister/she came'. Similiarly in the meaning of *akka:tankacci ellă: vanta:ŋke* it is often expressed *atunke vantutunke* 'They (feminine) (elder sister, younger sister all) came.

4. Conclusion

The overall written Tamil or H variety has the highly elaborated honorific system regarding II person pronouns. Northern Tamilnadu dialect strikingly has a different way of expressing politeness i.e. through the II person singular pronoun *ni:* itself, as the dialect has a two-way pronoun system in contrast with the three-way system found in other Tamil dialects inclusive of Modern Written Tamil. For this innovation the variety of Telugu spoken in North Tamilnadu area especially (Chittoor as the focal point) could be the contributing factor and as it is known, Telugu bilingualism is predominant in this area.

The second person intermediary honorific form *ni:r* as a social deixis is exploited differently in Brahmin dialect. The innovative third person human singular and plural forms viz. *avaru* and *avanke* in Standard Spoken Tamil and North Tamilnadu dialect have acquired new meanings by representing almost exclusive meanings i.e. *avaru* 'third person masculine honorific' and *avanke* third person feminine honorific. For the first time in the Tamil sociolinguistic scenario it may be stated that the honorific has got extended to feminine gender. This is true of verbal concord also.

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Sociopragmatics of Honorific Concord in Telugu

K. NAGAMMA RDDY AND B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY

I. Introduction

Pragmatics deals with the use of language in a given context and sociopragmatics is concerned with certain realities of social situation in which the speech act occurs. Sociocultural and interpersonal dimensions of social rank, age, sex, intimacy, social status, politico-economic power, caste hierarchy and education of the addressee or referent in relation to the speaker constitute the bases of sociopragmatics as manifested in honorifics, vocatives, address terms, jokes, greetings, titles, pronoun systems, agreement makers and extended employment of kinship terms. Any lexical choice out of available set of synonyms automatically signals the social proximity or distance between the pseech act participants, between the speaker and referent or between the speaker and audience/bystander.

Telugu exhibits a complex system of social distinctions in its lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax reflecting the social philosophy of its speakers. Sociocultural constraints on lexical choice indicate the speaker's social proximity or distance from the addressee or referent. The use of kinship terms beyond the family and across the caste- groups indicates the social solidarity.

Politeness towards the addressee or referent is designated through a choice in the second person pronouns (*nuwwu, miiru, tamaru)* and demonstratives *(waaDu, atanu, aayana, waaru'* he'; *aame, aawiDa. waaru, adi* 'she') respectively. Besides, professional or caste titles, personal names together with the honorific form *gaaru* for politeness, or the use of diminutives such as *reey, oreey* (addressing males) *osee, ammii* (adressing

females), to indicate scornfulness or intimacy is quite common in Telugu. At the phonological level the intonation patterns, voice quality and other prosodic features signal the social distance or proximity on the one hand between the interlocutors, and on the other between the speaker and the referent(s).

Telugu is replete with morpho-syntactic mechanisms of expressing social relations. Subject agreement on the predicate together with the co-occurring vocatives and particles indicates honour, status, politeness, intimacy or insult. Imperative constructions provide yet another clue for social rank between the interlocutors. The strategies of employing tag questions ending with *-aa*, negative constructions, negative imperatives, negative interrogatives are adapted as linguistic indices of interpersonal social relations. However, the focus in this paper is confined to the honorific system of Telugu as revealed in pronouns and their corresponding concordial features and markers.

2. The concept of social deixis

According to Filmroe (1975:76) 'Social deixis is the study of that aspect of sentences which reflect or establish or are determined by certain realities of the social situation in which the speech act occurs'.

'The realities of social situation' across languages and culture-groups may show variation but our immediate concern is how these realities are accommodated in a particular language through the processes of lexicalization and morphologization. Moreover, social deixis is concerned with only those social variables, social meanings and social roles which, when reflected in languages, need the significance of participant roles for an appropriate interpretation of linguistic structures containing them (i.e. social factors.) Social deixis can be taken as dealing with those linguistic markers which are sensitive to the social

rank or social status obtaining between the speaker and addressee on the one hand, and speaker and referent (mainly persons) on the other. Just as the degrees of physical distance relative to speaker's location are reflected through spatial deixis, the degrees of social distance (or proximity) relative to the speaker's standing can be studied under social deictics.

Regarding methodological approaches to social deixis, Fillmore (1975:76-77) proposes that one may (i) Start with grammatical forms and their uses in context, (ii) Take speech functions and analyse their various forms or (iii) Take specific social context and investigate appropriate forms. Here we attempt an integrated approach to social meaning and their formal linguistic expressions. With this background in mind, an attempt is made to explore two of the areas of social deixis in Telugu i.e., address and reference systems.

3. Systems of addressee honorifics

The second person pronouns *nuwwu* 'you(sing)', *miiru* 'you (pl)' and *tamaru* 'you (honorific)' are used in addressing the conversational participant. The first one *nuwwu* is commonly used in addressing equals and it indicates solidarity, intimacy and friendship.

In the case of *miiru,* in its unmarked meaning it is generally used to address more than one person i.e. as a plural. It refers either to more than one listener or to a combination of at least one listener and one or more referents. But its use to address a single person is important in that it is applied to indicate honour and/or politeness towards the addressee. The important point to be underlined here is that a linguistic referential rule of singularity is broken and replaced by a plural pronoun in order to accommodate a social rule of deference and politeness. Use of plurals in the place of singulars to create the impact of honour and politeness is a common

linguistic strategy of the modern Indian languages, of which Telugu is no exception. In other words, speakers employ the appropriateness condition of their communicative competence to incorporate an interpersonal social rule of conversation. The referential logic of language is sacrificed to facilitate the logic of social norms. Observe the following:

(1) *nuwwu* *eppuDu* *wastaawu?*
you (sing) when come-fut-you (sg)
'When will you come?'

(2) *miiru* *eppuDu* *wastaaru?*
you (pl) you (pl)
'When will you(pl) come?'

Construction (2) is extended to refer to a single individual to create the effect of honour, thus it would mean 'when will you (hon sing) come?'

The last of the second person pronouns *tamaru* 'you (hon)' is used only to indicate honour in extremely formal situations or addressing superior dignitaries. It is more commonly found in platform speeches and on occasions of flattery. But in some of the conversations also.

The vocative *anDii* is frequently used as an address term to indicate honour towards the addressee.

(3) *aa* *sangati* *ceptaananDii*'I shall tell you about that'
that news tell-fut-I hon.

In some dialects of coastal area the sentences are replete with this vocative, as in

(4) *meemanDii* *banDimiida* *waccaamanDii*
we hon.voc. cart on hon.voc came we hon.voc
waaLLeemoonanDii *naDici* *waccaaranDii*
they as per hon.voc walking came they hon.voc
'We came on the cart and they came walking'

Telugu has neutral utterances without any particles in other dialects in such places, as for instance in the speech

of uneducated rural communities of Rayalaseema and Telangaana.

The vocative *anDii* as in *eemanDii* 'sir/madam' is used to draw the addressee's attention in a polite manner. There are certain dialects of Rayalaseema and Telangana where *anDii* is rarely used. The absence of *anDii* need not be interpreted as impolite, but as a reflection of cultural norms in a homogenous, intimate and informal rural society.

There are other vocatives such as *oree, reey, raa* (addressing males) and *eewẽẽ. osee. ammii* (addressing females) which are used either to indicate solidarity and intimacy among equals or to show scornfulness and impoliteness.

(5) *eeraa niiku* *anta* *dhairyam*
hey man! to you that much courage
waccindaaraa
come-past-it int. hey!
'Hey man! do you dare so much?'

Sentence (5) is a pointer of feudal culture (which is slowly disappearing) wherein a land owner addresses his farm workers. Such expressions are common only in film dialogues these days. But it can also be used among equals in a jokular way to indicate solidarity. Similarly the counterparts of vocatives are employed in addressing females.

Most of the sentences with addressee terms and vocative particles contain a composite question word. This is for the obvious reason that the speaker enquires the addressee for information. Sometimes the interrogative itself acts as a base for the bound morpheme of the vocative.

Insult or intimacy can be expressed by suffixing vocatives *gaaDu* or its reduced form *gaa* to the personal name in the following order.

(6) given name	address term	reference term
poolayya	*pooligaa*	*pooligaaDu*
wenkanna	*enkTigaa*	*enkTigaaDu*

The honorific concord on verb is controlled by the subject NP which in turn is substitutable by pronouns (personal or non-personal). While addressing, out of *nuwwu, miiru* and *tamaru* the sociocontextually appropriate pronoun is selected by the speaker and accordingly the agreement markers will follow. For example, the sentence 'when will you come' can be translated with three different equivalent.

(7) Intimate : *nuwwu eppuDu wastaawu?*
(8) Formal : *miiru eppuDu wastaaru?*
(9) Highly honorific : *tamaru eppuDu dayaceestaaru?*

Apart from *anDii,* the other frequent honorific device is to suffix *-gaaru* to the personal name to indicate politeness and the verbal concord will show the corresponding honorific form.

(10) *muurti gaaru* 'Murty (honourable)'
(11) *saarooja gaaru* 'Saroja (honourable)'

-gaaru can occur both in address and reference. Etymologically and semantically, the form, *gaaru* is a variant of *waaru* which is the distal demonstrative. *waaru* is the unmarked form in Telugu as in rest of the Dravidian languages and here it is extended to the nondeicitc function of honour and politenss to fulfill a social need., same is the case with *gaadu* derivative of *waaDu* 'he' which is used to indicate a nonhonorif, derogatary function or to insult a person as in *muurtigaaDu.* 'The damn fellow Murty'. In address too it is used as *muurtigaa* 'Hey, Murty'.

4. Bystander honorifics

The presence of audience or a bystander imposes certain socio-cultural constraints on the mode and manner of conversation between the speaker and hearer (Levinson 1983:90). For example, an exclusive group of young men will cut down their slang and taboo with the presence of a girl or an outsider amidst them. Still more appropriate is the change in the verb agreement style in the conversation of a newly married couple with the presence of a third person. The intimate informal *-wu* of *nuwwu ceppinaawu* 'You said it' will suddenly switch over to formal honorific *miiru ceppinaaru* in the speech of the wife. Here the relation between the speaker and audience is in focus, rather than that of speaker and hearer.

5. Formal (levels of) honorifics

Related to audience honorifics is that of sensitivity to social setting of the speech act. Two intimate friends will be forced to use formal style (instead of their intimate talk) in a formal situation like addressing and referring to each other in a scheduled formal Board meeting or a public meeting. Instead of *eeraa baagunnawaa,* 'hey, how are you?' the speaker will use such formal style as *eemanDii, baagunnaaraa?* 'Hellow (you hon), how are you?". Even in reference the setting plays an important role. Dependig upon the setting of speech event, an appropriate pronoun and its corresponding concordial elements of PNG will be selected.

6. Referent honorifics

In Telugu, like in other language, apart form nouns, the pronouns carry the referential function. Furthermore, unlike nouns, the pronouns overtly indicate the class of a referential entity by encapsulating in their structure the semantic features of person, number and gender. Though Telugu has no separate set of third person pronouns, the

demonstrative pronouns carryout most of their functions. The demonstratives in Telugu can be classified as:

(12)	**sing**	**plural**	
'he'	*waaDu*	*waaru*	'They (human)'
'she'	*aame*		
'it'	*adi*	*awi*	'They (Non-human)'

These are unmarked distant demonstratives and there exists a corresponding set of proximate counterparts. But what is relevant here is that the language employs elaborate socio-cultural constraints on the selection of equivalents of 'he' and 'she'. In other words, several degrees of respect are lexicalised in Telugu and also morphologised on the verbal concord. Examine the translations of 'he' and 'she'.

(13)	'He'	'She'	
(a)	*waaDu*	*adi*	Intimate, informal, impolite
(b)	*atanu*	*aame*	Formal
(c)	*aayana*	*aawiDa*	Respectful
(d)	*waaru*	*waaru*	High honour

A competent Telugu speaker selects an appropriate pronoun (lexical item) and employs it in a given situation. The linguistic rules alone are not sufficient, the socio-linguistic rules dominate the selection and use of suitable forms. In other words, the communicative competence (as conceived by Hymes) rather than the linguistic competence (as postulated by Chomsky) of a group of speakers determines the appropriateness of language use.

Thought basically all the equivalents refer to a single individual, male or female, depending upon the social status, age, sex and other variables, one out of the four variants is brought into use and the honorific concord follows the suit. Observe the concord pattern:

(14) *waaDu ceppinaaDu* 'He said it'
(15) *atanu ceppinaaDu/-ru*
(16) *aayana ceppinaaru*
(17) *waaru ceppinaaru*

(18) *adi ceppindi* 'She said it'
(19) *aame ceppindi/ ceppinaaru*
(20) *aawiDa ceppindi/ ceppinaaru*
(21) *waaru ceppinaaru.*

It is the social reference which is crucial here in controlling the honorific concord. There are dialectal as well as regional variations in meaning and use of the above pronominals, which deserves further research.

7. Non-honorific concord

Use of plural in place of a singular is a dominant strategy of politeness hierarchy-cum-honorific concord. The reverse process of using a singular instead of plural will indicate dishonour, impoliteness, insult and improper language use.

If a polite form is employed in lieu of the normal socially expected and acceptable familiar form, that will also function as a strategy to dishonour, insult or undermining a person. The subjectivity of the speaker and his attitude towards the listener or referent can be expressed by this reversal use of honorifics. Thus the honorific system and its concord is a double edged weapon with which every competent speaker plays his conversational game.

8. Lexical choice as a socio-subjective concord

In the conventional accounts of agreement studies it is customary to understand the concord phenomenon as a co-variation between two constituents of a construction. This sort of conception can be taken as syntactic agreement. At a higher level the concept of agreement can be extended to the relationship between the semantico-pragmatics of a situation as conceived by the speaker and its mapping on to the lexical level of the language. This extended notion of concord can best be postulated with

the help of lexical choice that a native speaker makes in a given context. When a language has more than one term for the same concept in its lexical treasure, what are the constraints that control and drive the speaker to opt for one particular item rather than the other.

The lexical choice is controlled both by the social constraints as well as the subjective attitude of the speaker towards a situation, event, addressee or referent. For example the equivalents of the word 'father' in Telugu are -*ayya, appa, naayana, naanna, naannagaaru, DaaDii, tanDri* and several others. The speaker of Telugu is endowed with the socio-linguistic rules of mapping concord rules which direct him to make an appropriate choice out of all the existing synonyms. The speaker's background, his social standing, his education, region, occupation, the context of speech, his audience and bystanders-all these social factors guide him to select a particular linguistic item out of the available lot. For example *ayya* and *appa* are commonly found among the uneducated rural folks. *naayana* and *naanna* are used (with dialectal variation) by most of the speakers, while *DaaDii* is fashionable among English-educated or even immitating (so-called) elitist group. *tanDri* is rare in conversation and it is confined to the language of plays on stage or in the films.

9. Conclusion

Human languages are replete with mechanisms of morphologisation and lexicalisation to denote respect or insult towards the hearer/referent. The selection of appropriate pronouns for addressee(s) and referent(s) in a given situation triggers the corresponding agreement markers on the verb i.e. through subject-verb concord in Telugu. The use of vocatives, titles, kin terms etc., stands in co-variation with the agreement features. These co-occurrence restrictions emerge from the social factors of interpersonal communication. An attempt has been made

here to bring out some of the nuances of honorific concord in Telugu and much of the phenomenon awaits further future research.

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Acquisition of Agreement by Telugu Children

A. USHA DEVI

I. Introduction: The traditional definitions

Bloomfield (1933) distinguishes three general types of agreement without real boundaries. They are: Concord or congruence, where the actor is a form of sub-class A, the action must be a form of sub-class A, and so on as in *this boy* Vs *these boys*. (i.e. singular vs plural distinction). The second type is concerned with the syntactive position of the form e.g. *I know* vs *watch me.* (And for Bloomfield the type of selection is Government). And the third type of agreement is cross-reference, where the sub-classes contain an actual mention of the form with which they are joined. (This is what we generally call subject-verb agreement where a 'substitute form resembling pronouns' occurs with the verb). The three are referred to as *vacana, vibhakti* and *kriyaanvaya* respectively in Sanskrit grammatical tradition.

Hockett (1958) distinguishes between government and concord. According to him government is found only in exocentric constructions and concord is found in endocentric as well as in some exocentric constructions in a tie that cuts across I-C structure to link certain predicate attributes to subjects.

'In many languages the constituents of a particular syntactic constructions are said to "agree" or be "concord" with respect to such features as gender, number, case, person etc.', Lyons (1968). The difference between government and concord lies in the fact that under concord two or more words or phrases are inflected whereas under government the peripheral and the dependent member of a syntactic construction do not exhibit the same category; instead, the dependent member

is determined with respect to the relevant category by the principal member. However, for him this distinction is essentially a surface-structure distinction.

All the above statements indicate that there is a general agreement regarding agreement, though there is some conclusion, actually, defining the properties and the use of terminology as well. In recent linguistics, Steele's definition (1978) is more or less accepted. According to him 'agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of another.'

2. Agreement in Telugu

'The category of person plays a crucial role in Telugu both in the formation of pronouns and their verbal concord. The agreement markers on the finite verb indicate number and person with respect to the participant pronouns in the subject position' (Ramakrishna Reddy 1991) In other words, Telugu employs pronominal affixes on the verbs. That is subject plays the role of 'controller' (Foley and van Valin 1984) on the general agreement of the 'target' pronominal affix of the verb Principal and dependent according to Lyons). Though terminology in this usage may differ, I shall follow one usage where the sets of nouns/pronouns take the same agreement markers a singular-plural pair; and it is sufficient to know the meaning of a noun in order to determine its gender. That is, the nouns denoting male humans belong to the masculine gender by a semantic assignment rule which in turn controls the target affix in the verb. But the system in Telugu has no one-to-one-correlation and has many mismatches between the number of controllers and the number of targets as exemplified by Corbett (1991:153). That is, Telugu has three controllers, masculine, feminine and neuter while there are only two target genders in both singular and

plural. This is shown in a diagram by him in the following way:

Sing.		Pl.
-Du	IIIM	*-ru*
vaaDu		*vaaLLU (ru)*
-di	IIIF	*yi/ avi*
adi	IIIN	

The -yi of III-person neuter plural is infact a later development in a dialect of Telugu which is the basis for the modern standard variety. The earlier form in Old Telugu was only -vi, which is present in some dialects of Telugu.

Corbett's analysis of establishing the genders of Telugu (both controllers and targets) though valid and significant in capturing the agreement phenomena in Telugu in general, it missed a few peripheral aspects. Except in the case of I and II Person Singular which do not specify any gender and are always human and animate (may be universal for languages, without inherent gender system), there is no one-to-one-correlation between the controllers and targets of plurals of the three persons which are fused for person and number as shown below:

I Person plural	*manam* (*u*) incl.) *meem* (*u*) (excl.)	*-m(u)*
II Person plural	*-miiru*	*-r(u)*
III Person plural M and F	*vaaLLu*	*-r(u)*

This agreement system makes Telugu nominative-accusative and pro-drop language, where verb/verb-phrase can predict the antecedent subject of the sentence.

In the light of this brief description of subject - verb agreement, this paper attempts to study the acquisition of agreement taking not only the syntactic agreement but

also phrasal agreement. Infact unlike languages like Sanskrit, Russian, French and German, Telugu has no agreement at the phrasal level.

However, one could find it in a restricted way in an NP which has combination of numbers (as modifiers) as Nouns. The following are the example.

okaTi	'one'	*oka*	*baabu, paapa pustakam, kukka*
and			*aayana+okaDu/okaru*
			aame+okati/okaru
			adi+okaTI
renDu	'two'	*renDu+N* +human	*iddaru+N* + human

The following are the grammatical variations between non-human and human modifier of numerals:

-Human		**+ Human**
muuDu	'three'	*mugguru*
naalugu	'four'	*naluguru*
aidu	'five'	*aiduguru*
aaru	'six'	*aaruguru*
eeDu	'seven'	*eeDuguru*
enimidi	'eight'	*enamanDuguru/enimidimandi*
tommidi	'nine'	*tommidimandi/tommanDuguru*
paḍi	'ten'	*padimandi/paduguru*

Though there are differences of usages of adding the human indicative suffix in modern Telugu, the suffix of -*guru*- or *mandi* to the numerals of human specification, I do not go into the discussion of it here, and confine only to consider the differences as far as acquisition is concerned.

3. Acquisition: Data, method and subjects

In order to study the acquisition of agreement, data are drawn from three sources:(1) natural and spontaneous production of a girl child Armili (daughter of the âuthor)

upto the age of 5:10 recorded at frequent intervals; (2) elicited data obtained from children ranging from two to six years collected from baby care centers (total number of visits four of two hours duration each); and data from Nirmala (1981) which had a combination of both natural and elicited data without any real focus on agreement. These will be discussed under the following three headings in detail.

3.1 Evidences from spontaneous/longitudinal data

3.1.1 Subject-verb agreement: The first appeared subject-verb agreement was found when the child was around the age of 1:6. The progressive development of acquisition data of the child is given below:

1.	*kaaya-loopalundi*	'Fruit-inside is' 1;6
2.	*tin Taa*	'I eat' 1;8
3.	*fan-tirgutundi*	'Fan is rotating' 1;8
4.	*Daddy vaccinni*	'Daddy has come' 1;6
	Daddy pooyindi	'Daddy has gone' 1;9
5.	*paDawa-mancigundi*	'Boat – good (is)'
	kuccuttaa	'I pierce' (sub)
	digutaa	'I get down' 1;9
	kuucunTaa	'I sit down'
	daddy-cakkunTu-nndaDu	'Daddy is reading'
	amma - pittundi	'Mother is calling'
6.	*piikees'indi*	'Pulled off'

The above data indicate that between the age of 1;6 to 2;0 years Armili could acquire the verb agreement in the following way:

I person

(II p. Imperative only)

III Person at the age of 1;3 and 1;6 and the child used only III p. non-masculine for all the three genders namely masculine, feminine and neuter, though she could, at the level of nouns, distinguish between the three. But

sometime from the age of 1;8 to 2;0 yrs. she has developed -Du to agree with the III Person masculine. But the plural agreement is not acquired by then, as shown in the example below.

ushaaki baTTalu tadisindi 'Usha's clothes became wet.' (sg.)

The difference between the masculine and feminine singular are acquired at a later age around the age of 2 years. But since there is no difference in the form of plural agreement, (as in the case of singular) between male and female, it is acquired distinctly from human plural form, though after the emergence of III p.sg. around the age of 2;6 yrs.

e.g. 2;5 *pedanaana, doDDamma vattunru*
'Uncle and aunt are coming'
2;3 *pootunnay, pottunnay-ciimalau*
-going (pl). going (pl) ants.
'Ants are going'

The second person singular and plural could not be obtained in the spontaneous speech of the child though the distinction of ± honour is noticed in imperative by the age of 2;10 yrs.

1;8 *kuusoo* 'sit', *kuurcoo*
1;9 Daddy, *raas'ukoo* 'Daddy, write (yourself);
1;7 *ettukoo* 'take me into your arms'.
1;10 *kuucconDi* 'please be (+honour) seated'

The reason for the non-availability of the data for II p.sg. and pl. is that in general, in discourse it is rare to speak sentences with agreement forms. Based on the above data, the following observations could be made regarding the acquisition of subject-verb agreement.

1. I p. sg. and III p. non-masculine agreement appear between 1;6 -1;8 and more or less at the same time.

Though the first appeared form is only III p. non-masculine, children refer to themselves with III p. and hence III P.non masc. comes first.

2. III p.sg. non-masculine form is used for all three genders and masculine is acquired later.

3. III p. plurals for + human and -human are acquired much later, that is after 2;6 years and

4. II p. sg. and pl. are not found until the age of three years in the speech of the child.

By the age of 3+ the subject-verb agreement acquisition is acquired and expressions like *raasukunTunnawu*, 'you are writing' T.V. *cuttunnaaru* 'You are watching T.V.' etc. for II p. sg. and pl. were obtained only in the elicited data, that is, by asking her 'What I/We are doing now?'

3.1.2 Number + Noun agreement: There was no data in the Armili's speech until the age of 2;0 years. Though she started using numbers, one to ten by then, the process of acquisition of both production and comprehension was not complete. She could count however, *okaTi, renDu, muuDu,* etc. relating them to the objects found to be difficult for her at that age. The produced form, though some times it did not correlate with respect to the actual number of things or objects. This process of confusion in number that is the difference between the utterance and its corresponding meaning prevailed until the age of 2;6 and slowly she started using the agreement.

e.g. *muuDu puuwulu tempina* 2;9 'I plucked three flowers'.

At this age, however, we could not find any data of corresponding number words to count the humans. Around the age of 3 yrs when some guests visited home, I asked her how many had come. The immediate reply was

muuDu that is 'three (-human)'. The data on the acquisition of the distinction between human versus non-human is being scanty in the spontaneous speech of the child, there is still evidence that there is difference in the acquisition of knowledge about number on the one hand (which is not under study here) and the acquisition of the distinction between human versus non-human agreement on the other. However, though the development of acquisition process was found to be adult-like correct understanding by the age of 5 years, the child still has problems with the question forms with numeral + human nouns e.g. 5;7. *amma, dasrathuniki enni koDukulu?* 'Mother, how many (-human) sons does *Dasaratha* have?'

Discussion: The available data indicate that there is a difference in learning to understand numbers and their production. Even when the child has known the numbers, relating the numbers with objects, he/she takes a longer time, than mere production of counting of numbers one, two, three etc. And when, the process of relating them to the nouns, the unmarked number [+Anim] noun a human or non-human is acquired earlier and the marked numbers of counting humans is acquired very late. And the acquisition of interrogative in this category seems to be the last to acquire, and the child has occasional problems to distinguish between *enni/endaru/entamandi*. However, there is a similarity that in both the cases, the non-human is acquired earlier than the human markers.

3.2 Evidence from elicited data from children of 2 to 6 years

3.2.1 S-V Agreement: To elicit the data focusing on S-V agreement and verbal phrase agreement, the researcher has visited two different baby care centres and selected the children between the ages of 2 to 6 yrs. with 0;10 to 1;0 yr. gap between them. As there were not many children during March, April and May in the care centres, I could get only one child from each centre for each age

group. In total, ten children (2x5) were elicited for the required data by showing action-oriented picture books and asking to narrate from the environment or in some conversation. Children belonging to the age of 2;0 yrs. though playful, did not render all the required S-V agreement data.

Their responses are shown in the following Table:

			2;0	3;0	4;0	5;0	6;0
I	sg.		P	P	P	P	P
	pl.		P	P	P	P	P
II	sg.		A	P	P	P	P
	pl.		P	P	P	P	P
		+M	P	P	P	P	P
III	sg.	-M	P	P	P	P	P
		+H	P	P	P	P	P
	pl.	-H	P	P	P	P	P

(P = Present, A = Absent, ± Male/Female)
In Interrogation and in request 3 and 4 yrs.

There were no responses of II p. sg. and pl. by children who belong to the age of 2 yrs. as shown in the table. However, the acquisition of the rest of them being common to all other children of other ages, there is difference regarding the II p. sg. and pl. While children of the ages of 3 and 4 (including 5 and 6 yrs) asked the investigator whether she would come again/tomorrow and also requested her to do so, children of 5 and 6 yrs, age groups also replied a couple of answers like Armili to questions what I was doing' - indicating the acquisition of S-V agreement for II p. sg. and pl. The two questions which all the children asked the investigator were.

(i) Interrogative: *(nuwwu) reepu wastaawaa?/ vastunna-waa/ vastaaraa/ vastunnaraa* 'Are you coming tomorrow'? (sg./+honorific)

(ii) Request: *reepu raa/reepu ranDi* 'Come tomorrow' (ibid). *caakleTlu istawaa?*' 'Will you please give chocolates' (ibid).'

(iii) Approval Request: *reepu / vastaawu kadaa!* 'You are coming tomorrow, aren't you?'

3.2.2. Number agreement (phrasal)

The following table represents the responses of the children elicited for number agreement. The elicitation was done by asking them, to count the number of children present there, or choose and count the round colour balls of a particular colour, and to count the children sitting in chairs or on the floor etc. as in the following table.

	2;0	3;0	4;0	5;0	6;0
+Human	No Response	As-Human only	0/1	-Human & corrected /1	1/1
-Human	number told but not correct				

While children of the age of 2;0 years could give a number for the above questions, their number is not correct in that it does not correlate with the exact number as present there. This indicates that they haven't acquired the concept clearly leave alone the grammatical rule of the distinction. While children belonging to the age 3;0 years have rendered both the forms in non-human and human, one child of 4;0 years gave the responses for both correctly. And another child first gave the non-human as *muuDu* then immediately corrected herself as *muDumandi* and again gave correct form *mugguru* for humans correcting herself with no gap in between. This suggests a progressive development of the agreement acquisition among these children.

3.3 Data from Nirmala (1981)

Nirmala described the acquisition of agreement in the data of four children (1;6 to 3;10 years - collected for six months which contains spontaneous and elicited data.) in the third chapter of her Ph.D. thesis under development of GNP in children namely, S, K, P and M. According to her, the GNP inflection formed quite early in S's speech was the III Person singular number non-masculine suffix - *di,* irrespective of gender and person of the corresponding noun/pronoun (p.158). And even K's is similar to S's who did not distinguish between ± masculine.

However, while giving children's data (of S's to K's) Nirmala expressed that they used 1st person *neenu* but omitted the GNP, as in the following examples:

S1:8 *neenee tintaa* 'I myself eat' (emphatic)
K1;8 *neenu inta* 'I hear'

Where the absence of *-nu* was thought by her as deletion of GNP'. This can not be true, I feel, because *-nu* is optional even in adult speech in many of the varieties of Telugu.

For II p. sg. S and K used only interrogatives as is found in the elicitation data described above which was collected from baby care centres. The examples are:

S 1;11 *testunnaawaa/* 'Are you bringing?'
K 2;0 *adi naakittawa?* 'Will you give that to me'

The II and III p. pl. were used in K's speech at 2;2 and were present in the other two older children P and M at the age of commencement of the data collection. Here again, Nirmala's interpretation seems to be a little unconvincing, where she, taking the children's use of *-lu* (as in *vaccaalu,)* explains as being a substitute of *-ru* and not *-Du* (as the retroflex was not acquired by them). But it is very common for children to use *-lu* for both *-Du,* and *-ru,* and therefore is difficult to decide decisively. Whether it

is related only to *ru* and not to *-Du* or to both could only be understood by a systematic study of phonology and in the context of morphology as well.

3.3.1 Discussion

Nirmala's study did not systematically focus on this aspect of language, i.e. agreement, and still we could find fairly good observations which are more or less similar to the above two studies. Even in her data we could find the following observations.

1. That the III p. non-masc. appears earlier than the other markers.
2. Followed by 1 p. sg.
3. II p. appears in interrogatives or requests; and
4. III p. sg. masc. and pl. -H are acquired earlier than their counterparts which are +M and +H.

4. Conclusion

Based on the above three studies, the following conclusions are found to be similar in all the three studies and they could be proposed for the acquisition of S-V agreement and Number + Noun Phrase agreement.

a. Telugu GNP system being complex, there are unmarked and marked categories whereby III p. sg. and pl. seem to be unmarked followed by I p. sg. while III p. sg. and pl. are both marked and hence acquired later.

b. II p. both sg. and pl. are formed to appear in interrogatives and requests and no data could be obtained otherwise in all the three studies.

c. Regarding the acquisition of phrasal agreement, the non-human is acquired earlier and human is acquired much later.

d. Pro gets dropped in children's language (as in the case of adults) when the GNP (i.e. agreement) takes care of its antecedent (anaphora).

e. The observations or findings in all the three studies seem to be consistent, and unless otherwise proved, seem to contribute to the markedness theory of language in general and that of acquisition in particular where, unmarked is acquired earlier than the marked ones and that there is a hierarchy in the acquisition based on hierarchy in the markedness in language in general.

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Agreement in Telugu Children's Speech: With Reference to Pronominal Subjects

V. SAILAJA

I. Introduction

Language acquisition form the stage of two-word utterances on can be explained in terms of syntactic relations (McNeil 1966, Goodluck 1986). Language can be seen as a complex system in which an ordered numbers of universal rules form the core. This knowledge is referred to as core grammar or universal grammar.

It is described that in each natural language these universal rules form an important part of the grammar and children have an innate faculty for them. Apart from these, children have to learn the language specific rules which account for the differences between languages. Language acquisition is considered as a process of setting parameter. Children are observed to be constantly making choices in order to acquire the syntactic structures of their first language. Verbs play a very important role in young children's early language development providing an essential link between one word speech and early grammar (Bloom 1981, 1991, Tomasello 1992).

From the viewpoint of Universal Grammar, there are specific proposals in the theory of language acquisition, Pro-drop parameter in the analysis of subjectless sentences (Hyams 1986, 1987), stem parameter in order to account for the development of inflectional morphology and claim that early grammars have a syntactic as well as a semantic component (Hyams 1986). Hyams presents a parametric analysis of the corss-linguistic development of verbal inflections. She claims that children set the stem parameter very early on, which is to say that they

determine at a young age what constitutes a well-formed word in the language.

This parametric analysis makes two specific predictions for languages of the Italian type, in which, the verb must always bear an affix. The first is that Italian children will never produce verbs in their base stem form, while English speaking children who learn inflection as a marked feature of the language will use bare stem form. The second prediction, which is not a direct deduction of the stem parameter but related to it, is that children acquiring Italian will learn the inflectional affixes earlier than English speaking children, because Italian children do not have the option of omitting the inflectional elements. Pizzuto and Caselli (1992) support these two predictions of Hyams (1986) in their study with Italian children.

Ingham (1992) studies a child (Sophia), a monolingual English, for four months, from 2;5 to 3;0. This study threw light on subject obligatoriness, tense endings, modal auxiliaries, contractible copula and pronoun case expletive subjects. Regarding tense inflections it studied III person, singular marker on verb, i.e. -s and past tense marker *-ed*. The first of these two was noticed to be totally absent even in the speech samples of 2;8. It is mentioned that this appeared at 3;0 in one instance i.e., 'does'. Bowerman (1973) expresses that the structural phenomenon like subject-verb agreement was evidently missing in the early child's speech.

2. Agreement in Telugu

Telugu, a Dravidian language exhibits subject-verb agreement. Telugu verb is inflected for Person, (P), Number (N) and Gender (G) features of the subject. This language possesses a rich pronominal system. It show a three-way distinction i.e., Ip, IIp, IIIp, IIIp. pronouns are demonstrative pronouns having the distinction of

proximity and distant. Ip. plural has two forms (i) exclusive (ii) inclusive. IIIp. f. impolite and IIIp.n. singular show the same form. In plural IIIp.m. and f. show the same form. All these personal pronouns have their corresponding PNG suffixes which appear on the finite verb. These are listed in Table1.

meemu *sinimacuusemu*
we(excl) cinema see past Ip. pl.
'We saw a film'

3. Aim

The present study throws light on the acquisition of subject-verb agreement by Telugu speaking children. It would look at the emergence of the agreement markers on PNG suffixes on the verb and the use of pronominal subjects in the speech of these children. It would discuss the predictions of stem parameter with regard to the first language acquisition of Telugu children.

4. Methodology

Data of 14 children were used for the present study. Two children of 1:6 and 1;10 were visited once and one hour samples were collected from these two. 12 children of age between 2;0 and 3;0 were selected. These were grouped into four with 3 months gap between them. Each group was represented by 3 children. Each child was visited six times with 15 days interval. Each session lasted for 30 minutes. Spontaneous speech samples were collected from these children on a tape-recorder. For data collection, different toys, different pictures depicting different actions and natural contexts were used. Care was taken to collect all types of utterances where single subject, plural subject and all pronominal subjects were involved. All the children selected were the first in their families. Details of the subjects in this study are given in Table-2.

5. Data and analysis

Pranati (1;6) the first child of the study was at the stage of one-word and two-word productions. She had single N and V productions and sometimes N-V combinations. A few productions of her are illustrated below:

1. *ii* 'Give' [asking her mother to give a thing]
2. *oci* 'Come' [when she saw her grandmother came in]

3. *amma digu* 'Mother get me down' [She was asking her grand mother to put her down from cot by lifting her hands]
   (AF) Adult From could be 'I will get down' -*digutaa* or *dimpu* or (you) put (me) down'

4. *baba oci* 'Uncle came'
   AF *babai occEDU* [when her uncle came into the room]

Kavya (1;10) produced quite a few two-word combinations where we could observe S-V, O-V productions. Some of them are illustrated below.

5. *amma tini* 'Mother ate'
   AF *amma tinindi* [when she was asked where is the apple]

6. *naanna raadu* 'Father did not come'
   AF *naanna raaleedu*

7. *pandu tinu* 'Eat fruit'
   AF *paNDu tinu* [offering a fruit to the investigator]
   aapis aapis ellu/elli 'Went to office'

8. AF *aafis wellEru* [she was talking about her father, saying that he went to his office and he was not at home]

She had both forms *ellu* and *elli* in her speech with reference to the same context.

Data of 12 children of 2;0 - 3;0 are given in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6. Nominal subjects and referential forms were excluded in this study. Only pronouns used as subjects were studied to analyse subject-verb agreement. It was seen that whether subject was overt or covert and what was the verbal ending i.e. PNG with reference to the subject in the context. Each table was divided into two (a) and (b) which talked about pronominal subjects and PNG suffixes respectively. Table-3(a) and (b) represented the data of 2;0-2;3. At this stage children could produce IIIp.n. *idi* overtly, but there was reference for Ip. IIIp.m. and f-singular covertly. In the earlier sessions, verb did not carry any agreement markers, later it was shown by -*di*, as in (9) and (10). e.g.

9. *pooyadi* '(He) went'
went PNG
AF *pooyaaDu* [to say that child's father went out]
or *wellEDu*

10. *paliindi* '(She) fell down'
AF *paDindi* [looking at a falling doll]

There was an instance of IIIp. pl. reference by nominal subject showing -*di* agreement marker on the verb as in (11).

11. *pillalaalutunnaadi* 'Children are playing'
AF *Pillalu aaDu tunnaaru*
children play cont. IIIp. pl.
(See Table-3)

Table 4(a) and (b) show the data of 2;3-2;6. These children produced Ip, IIp and IIIp. pronouns in singular overtly. But Ip. and IIp. in the beginning were rendered in

accusative form of Ip. *nannu* 'me'. Later between 2;5 and 2;6 Ip. sg. and IIp. sg. pronouns emerged in their speech. At this stage *idi* IIIp.n.sg. form was used for IIIp.m. and f.sg. and IIIp. n. pl.

Ip. pl. reference was madc covertly and IIIp.n.pl. pronoun *iwi* 'they' appeared in this group. There was no PNG marking for Ip. and IIp. otherwise verb was inflected for PNG. Similar situation was observed with regard to PNG marker - *di.* i.e., IIIp.sg.n. marking for all IIIp.sg. and IIIp.n.pl. subjects. IIIp.m.sg. showed a variation in PNG inflection. It was observed that it was suffix *-yi* on the verb in addition to *-di* as in (12).

12. *iwi* *pali* *pootunaa-yi* 'They are falling down'
AF *iwi* *paDi* *potunnaayi* [referring to the toys which are falling down]

IP. pl. was marked correctly by *-mu.* (see. Table 4)

Table-5 discusses the data of 2;6-2;9. First observation was that there was no accusative use in the place of nominative case. Ip. and IIp. pronouns were used correctly. *idi* 'it' continued to be used to refer to IIIp. m., f. and n. Ip.pl. pronoun appeared in the data with IIIp.pl. *waaLLu* 'they' and IIIp.n.pl. *iyi* 'they'. Verb showed agreement with IIp.sg., IIIp.sg. and pl. and Ip.pl., IIIp.m.sg. suffix was produced correctly in a few productions as in (13) and (14).

13. *occEDu* '(He) came'
[when his father came in]

14. *taata gaaru occEru* 'Grandfather came'

Here *-ru* was used to show the politeness. This was noticed only once in the speech of one child at 2;8:15.

Though IIIp.n.pl. was marked by *-yi*, there was an instance where it was marked by singular suffix *-di* as in (15).

15. *iyi* *naadi* 'These are mine'
these mine
AF *iwi* *naawi*
(see Table - 5)

Table-6 talks about the data of 2;9-3;0. We could see a clear advancement in the production of pronominal subjects as well as the agreement markers of the verbs. Except IIp.pl. pronoun, other pronouns were overtly seen. PNG suffixes were used productively. For IIp.pl. on verb it was marked by IIp. sg. suffix as in the example (16).

16. *nuwwu* *antaawaccEwu*
You all came IIp.sg.
AF *mirandaru waccEru* 'You all came.'

[Child was talking to the investigator saying that once the investigator with her friends visited her.]
(see table - 6)

6. Results and discussion

Data of Pranati (1;6) and Kavya (1;10) show verb in imperative form and participle form. Kavya had negative verb forms like *leelu* and *raadu* as in example (6)., These were not discussed in this study. Agreement in negative constructions as opposed to affirmative is being treated differently (Subbarao 1991). It was observed that children produced lexical negatives earlier to verbal negatives (Usha Devi 1981, Sailaja 1994). Verbal negatives appeared to be with no agreement markers first, then were produced in IIIp.n.sg. agreement, later other PNG suffixes were observed on the verbal negative in an experimental study (Sailaja 1994).

Data of this study showed verb with no PNG suffixes in earlier samples and later inflected for IIIp.m. sg. form *-di* (which also represents IIIp.sg.f. non-polite). This stage was observed in the speech of the II group of children 2;3-2;6. This was noticed even at 2;9 as given in the example (15). The accusative use for nominative in the subject position by 2;3-2;6 children supported the viewpoint of undeveloped INFL (Radford 1996) in this study. Children of 2;6-2;9 showed a lot of variation in PNG inflection, especially with IIIp.sg.m. This could reveal that children were making many choices to meet the adult model. However, verb to begin with, showed agreement through a default rule by making inflection in IIIp.n.sg. *-di* as a regular feature.

This study showed a clear developmental picture in the emergence of pronominal subjects and also PNG inflections on the verb. By 3;0 Telugu children of this study produced verb with agreement features in the finite position. The older group of children showed a social phenomenon of politeness in the use of S-V agreement by producing *-ru* suffix. But it was not observed as productive. Still we could find some inconsistencies in the production of plural PNG suffixes with regard to III.pl. and IIIp.m. and f. plural.

This study showed an order of the following type in the emergence of S-V agreement.

1. No agreement.
2. Agreement in IIIp.sg.n.
3. Ip. pl. marker.
4. IIp. sg. marker.
5. IIIp. sg.m and f. distinction.
6. IIIp. pl neuter.
7. IIIp.m. and f. plural.
8. IIIp.pl. and polite marker.

Though we could observe 'bear' form of the verb in earlier samples, this was provided in the input as imperative or participle form. We could notice subjectless sentences (pronominal) in early speech of 2;0-2;3. Later pronominal subjects were produced, this could be attested to the development of INFL (Radford, 1996, O'Gardy, Peters and Masterson 1989). According to Hyams (1986) stem parameter setting, Telugu children were predicted to produce agreement on verb in their early syntax. This was noticed in the present research. Telugu children showed past and non-past distinction by 2;0 (Sailaja 1990-91). O'Grady et al (1989) and other studies claimed that once the result of various reflexes of INFL been developed, would lead to subject obligatoriness in turn activate the AGR for the development of agreement system. We might consider this claim to explain the faster development in the production of pronominal subjects and PNG inflections on verb in this study.

7. Conclusion

According to the predictions of stem parameter, it is expected that there should be a bear form of the verb with no tense or PNG inflections. This stage was seen in the speech of 1;6, where one form of the verb used to refer to all tensed situations, though the form produced could be labelled as imperative structurally in the adult speech. We could observe the development of S-V agreement system in the study. To establish all the developmental stages of S-V agreement more number of children beyond 3;0 could be involved. We could observe that the children of the oldest group i.e. 2;9-3;0 in this study could not produce S-V agreement correctly.

Appendix

Table 1: Personal pronouns and PNG suffixes in Telugu

I	II	IIIm.	IIIf.	IIIn.
neenu	*niiwu*	*waaDu/wiidu*	*aame/iime*	*adi/idi*
-nu	*-wu*	*-Du*	*adi/idi*	*-di*
sg.			*--di*	
		aayana/iiyana	*-ru*	
		atanu/itanu	(polite)	
	-miiru	*-Du*		
	(polite)	*-ru* (polite)		
pl. *meemu*	*miiru*	*waaLLU /*	*waaLLu/*	*awi/*
(excl.)		*wiiLLu*	*wiiLLu*	*-iwi*
manamu	*-ru*	*-ru*		
(incl.)				
-mu			*-ru*	*-yi*
				-wi

Table 2: Details of Subjects

Group	Period	Name	Sex
I	2;0-2;3	Shilpa	F
	2;3-2;6	Kaushik	M
	2;3-2;6	Janaki	F
II	2;3-2;6	Sweta	F
		Swati	F
		Subash	M
III	2;6-2;9	Vamsi	M
		Shilpa	F
		Kaartik	M
IV	2;9-3;0	Preeti	F
		Kaundinya	M
		Kaushik	M

Table 3: Data of 2;0-2;3

1a. Pronominal Subjects					I b. PNG Suffixes				
I	II	IIIm	IIIf	IIIn	I	II	IIIm	IIIf	IIIn
Sg.	O	*idi*	O	O	O	*-di*	*-di*	*-di*	*-di*

Table 4: Data of 2;3-2;6

2a.					2b.				
I	II	IIIm	IIIf	IIIn	I	II	IIIm	IIIf	IIIn
Sg. *neen*	*nuwwu*	*widu*	*idi*	*idi*	*nannu*	*niin*		*di*	*di*
				Sg.	*OO*	*-di*		*-di*	*-di*
						-du			
								-lu	
Pl. *OO*			*idi*	Pl *iwi*	*-m* *-mu*			*-lu*	*-di* *-yi*

Table 5: Data of 2;6-2;9

	3a.				3b.	
Sg.	*nee* *neen* *-Du*	*nuwweidi*	*lu* *idi*	*idi*	Sg. *o*	*-wu*
				idi	Sg. O	*-wu*
Pl.	*-ru* *meem* *-di*	*waallu*	*idi* Pl.	*-mu*	*-lu*	*-lu*
				-ru		*-yi*

Table 6: Date of 2;9-3;0

neenu	*nuwwu*	*iina*	*idi*	*adi*	Sg. O	-wu	-Du
	-ru	-di					
Sg. *nee*	*wiiDu*	*iime*	*idi*		*-ru*	*-di*	
	waaDu						
mamanuO		*wiiLLuiwi*		Pl.*mu-wu-ru-lu-yi-lu-ru-wi*			
Pl.	*meem*	*wiiLLu*					

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Agreement in Tamil - Kannada Bilingual Children's Narrative

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I. Introduction

Agreement in children's languages has become the current focus of research. The concern in such studies has been the relation between agreement and syntactic development. The study of agreement per se has not received any attention from researchers. In trying to fill this gap the present study attempts to examine the development of agreement in children ranging in age from 3;5 to 7;6 years.

A perusal of research on agreement in child language shows that the approach has been predominantly what is termed the "language acquisition" approach (White 1982). This approach is an offshoot of the principles and parameters framework of Chomsky (1981). Works on agreement, within this framework have examined the role of agreement in syntactic development. The findings that have been reported are contradictory. Some studies report that agreement has no relevance to syntactic development (Felix 1987, Weissenborn 1990). Other studies however report that agreement is related to syntactic development. Based on data obtained form German children Clahsen and Pende (1992) report that agreement acts as a lexical trigger in parameter setting. Similarly, Eubank (1992) reports that in Portuguese agreement is related to movement of verb. Contradicting this finding, Clahsen (1988) reports that agreement and movement of verb are related in first language development. But in second language acquisition they are two independent learning tasks.

This review brings to the fore that agreement has not been studied for itself. There is hardly any data to suggest

the sequence in emergence of various types of agreement in child language. Further, in studying the role of agreement in relation to syntactic development researchers have been concerned with the function of agreement in child language. From the syntactic perspective, the function of agreement is to initialise certain aspects of syntactic development. From language processing perspective agreement is a syntactic device for reconstituting parts of a message (Pollard and Sag 1988). From semantic perspective, the function of agreement is to express semantic relations in terms of an actor in active sentence, causer in causative sentence and undergoer in non-active sentence (Bhat 1991). Agreement is also regarded as discourse device which allows the speaker to keep track of referents in discourse (Lehmann 1988). But all these explanations tend to treat language development as though it takes place in a vacuum.

Language development does not take place in a vacuum. Children are socialised not only through language but also in a language. In this sense language development reflects linguistic socialization. It is through language that children learn culturally appropriate behaviour. All grammatical forms are said to have indexical meaning. They index socio-cultural situations and psychological relations. So languages are culturally contextualised; in learning language children learn the culture. In this language-socialisation approach the function of agreement is to index children's socio-cultural knowledge. So the use or non-use of agreement points to children's underlying knowledge of the socio-cultural system in which language is embedded.

Against this background the present study was undertaken as a pilot study to examine agreement in narrative. It examines whether children show subject-verb agreement. Through their use/non-use of agreement the function of agreement has been discussed. Since the study consists of Tamil-Kannada bilinguals it is essential to

understand the structure of agreement in Tamil with reference to their own dialects, namely, the Ayyar and the Ayyengar dialects.

2. Agreement in Tamil

In Tamil the finite structure of the verb is marked for agreement in person, number and gender (PNG). In total, standard Tamil has eleven personal terminations. The break-up of these terminations and their corresponding agreement markers are given in table I for personal pronouns. In addition, the nominative forms are also given for pronouns that are used in Ayyar and Ayyengar dialects.

Table - 1
Personal pronouns in Standard Tamil and in Ayyar and Ayyengar dialects

	Std. Tamil	Ayyar dia.	Ayyangar dia.
I Sing (I)	*nā<u>n</u>*	*naa*	*nāni*
I Plu Excl. (we)	*nāŋkaḷ*	*nāng*	*nānī*
I Plu Incl. (we)	*nām*	*nāmbo*	
II Sing (you)	*nī*	*nī*	*ninī*
II Plural (you & Hon.)	*nīŋkaḷ*	*nīnge*	*ningī*
III Sing Mas (he)	*avan*	*avō*	*avū*
III Sing Fem (she)	*avaḷ*	*avo*	*ave*
III Neut. (it)	*atu*	*adu*	*adu*
III Sing M/F (Hon)	*avar*	*ava*	*avaī*
III Plu. human (they),	*avar*	*ava*	*ava*
III Plu. Inani (they)	*avai*	*aduellām*	*aduella*

In both the dialects plural is also indicated by affixing the quantifier 'all' */ellam,/*, */ella/* to the pronoun. In Ayyar dialect the exclusive and inclusive first person plural is maintained at the level of pronoun and at the verb level also. But in Ayyangār dialect the difference is maintained at the verb level only.

Ex. 'We are going'

	Ayyar dialect	Ayyangār dialect
Plu. Excl.	/*nangōrom*/	/*nānge poro*/
Plu. Incl.	/*nāmbo pōlām*/	/*nānge pōlā*/

2.1 Method

Earlier studies on agreement and syntactic development have been concerned with frequency of occurrence and type-token analysis. This methodology is of limited value because it looks at the issue of agreement in isolation shearing out the context in which utterances have been made. Departing from this method the present study looks at agreement from the narrative data. The analysis is at the level of sentence. But the issue of agreement is examined against the background of total narrative.

Data were collected from 5 children, their ages being 3;5, 4;5, 5;4, 6;6 and 7;6 years. All these were Tamil-Kannada bilinguals. Of these, two children (5;4 and 7;6 yrs) speak Ayyangār dialect at home while the remaining children spoke Ayyar dialect of Tamil as their home language. These children were asked to narrate a story in Tamil. These stories were recorded and analysed.

2.2. Analysis

(a) First all the finite verbs and the defective verbs were identified.

(b) The sentence types in which these verbs occurred were also identified and classified into three categories, namely, SV, SOV and SOOV patterns.

(c) Within each sentence types and subtypes like nominative, dative and null subjects were also identified.

(d) The agreement markers in these verbs were then analysed for agreement.
(e) Instances of wrong use of agreement markers were noted.
(f) Non-use of other agreement markers were also noted.

3. Results and discussion

Children's narratives were first subjected to the sentence level analysis. The findings obtained form such an analysis are presented and discussed in this section under three sentence patterns, namely SV, SOV and SOOV patterns.

3.1 Agreement in SV sentence pattern

Seven types of subjects in SV sentence patterns were identified. They are the nominative subject, dative subject, null subject, null dative subject, plural subject, dative quantifier and possessive subject. Of these seven types of subjects, all children have used five types of subjects in their narrative. They are the nominative, dative, null nominative, null dative and plural subject. The remaining two subjects, namely dative quantifier and possessive subjects have been used only by the oldest child (7;6). The findings on agreement are discussed below.

For the nom sub + verb children, in general, have no difficulty in using agreement markers of PNG. The following examples illustrate this.

(1) Nom subject 7;6 yrs.

nagannatu	*otto*	*irrukirān*	*oru*	*ōrile*
Naganna	one	be-pres-png	one	city
[P = III]			[P = III]	
[N = SG]			[N = SG]	
[G = Mas]			[G = Mas]	

'In a city lived a person called Naganna'

(2) Nom Subject 5;4 yrs

anda tangi romba keṭṭavallā pinna akka romba nallavaḷḷā
That young very bad and elder very good
sister sister

[P = III]	[P = III]	[P = III]	[P = III]
[N = SG]	[N = SG]	[N = SG]	[N = SG]
[G = Fem]	[G = Fem]	[G = Fem]	[G = Fem]
1	2	3	4

'The younger sister was very bad and the elder sister was very good'

The matrices 1 and 2 account for agreement of the subject *tangi* with verb *keṭṭavaḷ* and the same explanation applies to 3 and 4 with their respective categories.

Children have no difficulty in showing agreement when dative subjects are used in narrative. In sentences where dative subject is used children in all age groups have used defective verbs.

(3) Dative Subject 3;5 yrs.

hunterukku	*singamēkal*	*irrukkādōm*
to the hunter	lion	not have
[Dative Case]		[be-neg+defective verb]

'The hunter will not have any lion'

(4) Dative Subject 4;5 yrs.

onakku	*nallā*	*irrukiranai*	*venumā*
You	good	be-pres-ghee	want
[Dative Case]			[defective verb]

'Do you want good ghee?'

The findings of this study also show that children of this sample do not have any difficulty in using appropriate agreement markers even when the nominative or the dative subject is dropped form the narrative. Some

instances of agreement in null subjects are reported bellow:

(5) Null nominative Subject 6;6 yrs.

apparam	*oru*	*pāṭṭi*	*vīṭṭukku*	*pōrālā*
Then	one	Grandmother	house	goes [P = III] [N = SG] [G = Fem]

'Then she goes to a grandmother's house'

From the narrative it becomes evident that the subject refers to 'She' /avaḷ/ which has the following structure: [P = III], [N = SG] and [G = Fem]

(6) Null Nominative Subject 7;6 yrs.

irrukarāna	*veḷilai*
be + pres [P = III] [NN = SG (-Hon)] [G = Mas]	outside

'(He) is outside'

A perusal of the narrative shows that the null subject refers to the 'sage' /*rishi/* which has the structue of [P = III], [N = SG (+Hon)] and [G = Mas]

In the case of null dative subject also they have used the corresponding defective verb.

(7) Null Dative Subject 3;5 yrs.

vālu	*kai*	*āṭa*	*muDiyali*
tail	hand	shake	neg [Defective Verb]

'The lion could not move its hand or tail'

A reference to narrative shows that the null subject refers to a dative case, 'to the lion' /*singattukku*/.

An analysis of the data reveals that only the oldest child (7;6 yrs) has used other types of subjects, namely, the dative quantifier and possessive subjects. In both these cases this SV agreement is found.

(8) *appo* *ellarakkum* *vāpas* *bejar aradu.*
then everybody again bored gets
[Dative Case] [Defective Verb]
'Then everybody gets bored again'
(9) *enkiṭai* *sakkarai* *accu* *irrukku*
with me sugar candy mould have
[Defective Verb]
'I have a sugar candy mould'

But children of this sample seem to have problems in using agreement markers in two instances. The first instance relates to their non-use of agreement markers denoting honorific. The second is concerned with wrong use of agreement markers to refer to plural subjects. Both these problems become evident from the following example.

7;5 yrs.
(10) *oru* *rishi* *varanam*
one sage came
[P = III] [P = III]
[N = SG(+Hon)] [N = SG (-Hon)]
[G = Mas] [G = Mas]
'A sage came'

6;6 yrs
(11) *avāḷuṭai* *appa* *vīṭu* *viṭṭuttu* *pōyiṭarāna*
Their father house left (and) went
[P = III] [P = III]
[N = SG (+Hon)] [N = SG (-Hon)]
[G = Mas] [G = Mas]
'Their father left the house and went away'

Example (6) cited above also underlines the contention that children have difficulty in using agreement markers for indicating honorifics.

Similarly in the case of plural subjects, children have difficulty in using agreement markers.

6;6 yrs

(12) *oru*	*naa*	*oru*	*akka*	*tangai*	*irukkirāḷā*
one	day	one	eld.sis	young.sis	be + pres
				[P = III]	[P = III]
				[N = PL]	[N = SG]
				[G = Fem]	[G = Fem]

'One day two sisters were staying'

These two areas of problem will be discussed towards the end.

3.2 Agreement in SOV sentence pattern

In this type of sentence pattern also four types of subjects have been identified. They are the nominal and dative subjects, quantifier subject and null subject-null object. Of these while all children have used the first three types of subjects only the oldest child (7;6) has used the lat two types of subjects. In this type of sentence also children in general have no difficulty in using the agreement marker.

(13) Nominative Subject 7;6 yrs

farmer	collarān	..inda	mādariaa	ni	sakkara	sādu	panniddu
farmer	says	this	way	you	sugar	paste	make
				[P = III]			[P = III]
				[N = SG]			[N=SG]
				[G = M/F]			[G=M/F]

'Farmer says you make sugar paste in this way'

(14) Dative Subject 3;5 yrs

anda	*singakku*	*muzippācām*
That	lion	was awakened
	[Dative Case]	[Defective Verb]
	'The lion got up'	

In instances when the oldest child has used quantifier subject or null subject-null object sentence in narrative, the child has made use of appropriate agreement markers.

(15) Quantifier Subject

ellarum	*galatai*	*poṭartukku*	*start pnara*
Quantifier	subject	object	verb
everyone		noise making	start
			[N = PL]

'Everyone start making noise'

(16) Null Subject - Null Object

panniṭṭu	*sāpāṭ*	*gipāṭ*	*allam*	*arrange*	*panarā*
having done		food	all	arrange	does
					[P = III]
					[N = SG]
					[G = M/F]
					[Case=Nom]

'Having done, food arrangements were made'

From a scrutiny of narrative it can be seen that the subject refers to 'she' */avaḷ/*, that is 'Naganna's wife'. This pronoun has the same structure as that of the verb.

These findings reveal that children in general do not have any difficulty in using the agreement marker in the SOV sentence pattern irrespective of the type of subject used in the narrative.

3.3 Agreement in SOOV sentence pattern

From the analysis of narrative it can be seen that only two children (6;6 and 7;6 yrs) have used the SOOV sentence pattern in their narrative. They have no problem

in using the appropriate agreement markers even when different sub-types of sentences like the nominative subject, null dative object and null subject-null dative object are used.

(17) Nom Sub + Dat Obj + Obj + Verb (7;6 yrs)

avan	*first*	*sādukku*	*sādam*	*pōṭuṭṭu*	*apparam*
Subj	first	Dat. obj	Obj	put	then
He		to saadhu	food		

ellārakum	*sādam*	*poṭuvān*
everyone	food	verb
		will put

'He will serve the saadhu with food first and then will serve others'

(18) Nom Sub + [Dat obj + Verb 6;6 yrs.

rōs	*narai*	flowers	*kuṭukaradā*
Nom sub	obj	Dat.obj	verb
			gives
			[P = III]
[N = SG]			[N = SG]
[G = Neu]			[G = Neu]

'Rose (plant) gives lots of flowers'

(19) Null Sub + Null Obj + Obj Verb 6;6 yrs

apparam	*varachhe*	*kuṭukarēn*	*collaradā*	
sub		dat.obj	Obj	Verb
later	returning		will give	(it) says
				[P = III]
				[N = SG]
				[G = Neu]

'(He) says he will return (them) later'

The PNG of the verb implies that the subject must also have the same PNG. In examining the narrative text, it can be seen that the subject stands for rose /*ros*/ which also has P = III, N = SG and G = Neu. structure. Thus there is

agreement between the subject and the verb even when neither the subject nor the object is overtly present.

4. Highlight of findings

4.1 In general, children do not have any difficulty in using the agreement markers for indicating SV agreement. Children show SV agreement at a very young age. In an earlier study on development of morphological rules in children, (Devaki 1991) children even at the age of 2;5 yrs did not seem to have any difficulty in showing agreement when they had to extend morphological rules to meaningless words. The ease with which children use agreement markers suggests that the development of agreement has perhaps something to do with the nature of language. Tamil, a Dravidian language consists of simple agreement structure. The agreement markers have to be suffixed to the verb. They are morphologically conditioned and do not vary with grammatical relations as agreement markers in other languages, for example, Georgina, where the same set of agreement markers correspond to different grammatical relations under different linguistic circumstances (Kathman 1995).

4.2. While younger children have used simple sentence patterns and limited types of subjects, older children have used more complicated sentence patterns and a variety of subjects. Within this syntactical framework children's use of agreement shows that the emergence of type of agreement is perhaps along with or succeeds the emergence of complex sentence patterns and other varieties of subjects. That none of the children in this sample has used conjoined construction and its corresponding agreement marker /-ōom/testifies to this argument.

4.3. The errors made by children show that they seem to have some difficulty in using agreement markers to indicate plurality of subject (examples 12) and that they do not use agreement marker to indicate honorific status of the referent (examples 10,11). But based on these examples it would be erroneous to conclude that these children have no concept of either plurality or honorificity. In the Tamil speech community, of both these dialects the tendency is to neutralise plurality or honorificity by dropping the corresponding agreement markers. For instance, an adult would say */rishi varaa/* 'sage comes' dropping the marker */-ra/* to indicate honor. Similarly in (12), an adult would say */oru nā oru akkā tangi irrukkrā/* and will not use the plural agreement marker. A reference to the chart of pronominal terminations for the two dialects will show this. Children of this sample are also aware of this rule. In fact in several instances they have not used the plural or honorific agreement markers. But these sentences also did not have overt marking for singularity or lack of honour as has been used in (10,11 and 12).

One explanation for such errors could be attributed to the confusion felt by these children as their meta-linguistic awareness of the structure of Tamil as well as Kannada increases. One point which can be observed form the result is that only older children (6;6 and 7;6 yrs) have made such mistakes. Perhaps young children automatically do not use agreement markers of plurality and honorifics in the initial stages of language development. Later they become aware of the structure of Kannada. In Kannada the use of these markers is obligatory. For example one has to use */-ru/* as honorific markers when one says *rishi bandaru* 'a rishi comes'. In trying to duplicate this structure in Tamil and since they have no model of adult's usages of plural and honorific agreement

markers, they have probably tended to use the singular and honorific markers that are available to them. However, more data is needed to verify this supposition.

4.4 The findings of this study also show that in narrating a story children use agreement as a device to keep track of the referent. So even if the referent is not overtly present in the narrative, yet children seem to be aware of the referent. This point becomes evident when one observes that young children show subject - verb agreement under two conditions, that is, when both subject and object are present and when the subject is dropped but the object is present and when the subject is dropped but the object is present. In addition to these two conditions, older children show subject -verb agreement under a third condition, that is, when both the subject and the object are not overtly present in the sentence. These observations imply that agreement cold be used as an important criterion to understand issues of focussing and comprehension in child language. A study of agreement from this perspective may be taken up as an area for further research.

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Agreement in Tamil and Sanskrit

K. MEENAKSHI

I. Introduction

'Agreement or concord is a grammatical device through which the syntactico-semantic properties of a particular constituent are manifested in the structure of another constituent within a clause or across the clauses. Three elements involved in the agreement system are 1. The constituents in agreement. 2. The agreement markers and 3. The underlying Semantic-pragmatic features' (Ramakrishna Reddy 1991).

The agreement as a universal feature can be noticed in most of the languages though one may find differences in its manifestation. It will be more useful to compare the agreement system noticed in the classical Sanskrit and modern Tamil due to time gap between these two languages. It does not mean that this study altogether excludes the modern Tamil usages.

Main object of this paper is to present how our ancient grammatical texts treat the agreement system. The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pānini and Tolkāppiyam of Tolkāppiyar are the earliest extant grammatical texts respectively in Sanskrit and Tamil. A peep into their grammars will throw light on their line of thinking about the agreement system and also the method of their treatment of the subject.

Neither Tolkāppiyar nor Pānini has defined agreement explicitly, however one can find a number of rules in their texts which are directly or indirectly concerned with agreement.

A word (inflected or conjugated) cannot stand independent of other constituents in a clause or sentence. In other words, a word is related to other constituents in

the same clause or sentence and when occurs so; it shows the syntactico-semantic relationship. For instance, Sanskrit word *parausunta* 'with an axe' can convey sense only when it is used in a clause/sentence along with other constituents as

(1) *parasua* *chinatti*
axe-with cut-he/she/it
'(S)he/it cuts'

A number of inflected nominals in Sanskrit has the same phonological shape. They require a larger context to decide that a particular inflected form it stands for. Consider the following:

(2) *aśvau* *gacchatah*
horse (Nom. du. mas) go-pres.du
'(Two) horses are going'

(3) *aśvau* *arohatah*
horse (AC.du.mas) climb-pres-du.
'They(du) climb(two) horses'

The word *aśvau* in both the sentences is identical in its phonological shape. The difference is indicated by the verb which co-occurs with them. In the first sentence, the predicate shows that the word *aśvau* is the subject of the sentence and in the second it is the object. Thus, the word *aśvau* (though identical), in the first sentence it stands in the position of subject showing subject-predicate relationship and in the second it occurs in the object position, subject being implied in the predicate. Similarly take the case forms of dative and ablative plural *vṛkṣa* 'tree' e.g.

(4) *vṛkṣebhyah* *udakam* *dadati*
tree-(D.pl.) water - AC -sing give -III P.sing.
'(S)He/it gives water to the trees'

(5) *vṛkṣebhyah* *phalāni* *patanti*
fruits-(Ab. pl.) fruit (AC. pl.) fall-III P. sing

'Fruits fall from the trees'

Though the words *vṛkṣebhyah* in sentences (4) and (5) are identical in form they are identified by the verb with which they co-occur. Thus, in sentence (4) the nominal is dative and in (5) it is ablative. Pāṇini describes them in his rules on *kāraka* and *vibhakti*. These examples show that an inflected nominal occurs in some case relationship with the constituents which co-occur with it in a sentence and also that the inflected nominals having the identical form can be distinguished only when it is used in a sentence.

In the same way, when a word is said to be of a particular gender or number it is meant that particular word should be used in its proper gender in a sentence. Therefore, when grammatical texts assign a number or a gender it is not confined to only morphological level but it includes syntactico-semantic relationship as well. Moreover, it is well known that there cannot be a water-tight compartmentalisation between morphology and syntax. Agreement as we know manifests itself in the form of some markers in the other constituents.

2. Agreement in Tamil

Tamil, like any other Dravidian language shows agreement between subject and predicate. Predicate in Tamil may be classified into three types. They are

I N-FV

(6) (Mas) : *paiyan vantān*
boy come-past-he
'The boy came'

(7) (Fem): *peṇ vantāḷ*
girl come-past-she
'The girl came'

(7a) Neu: *māṭu* *vantatu*
bull/cow come-past-it
'The bull/cow came'

II *kurippuvinai* or appellative verb

(8) *paiyaṉ kariyaṉ*
boy black-he
'The boy is dark'

(9) *peṇ kariyaḷ*
girl black-she
'The girl is dark'

(10) *nāy kariyatu*
do black - it
'The dog is black'

III N-N

(11) *paiyaṉ māṇavaṉ*
boy student-he
'The boy is a student'

(12) *peṇ māṇavi*
girl student-she
'The girl is a student'

The above sentences show the agreement between the subject and predicate in gender.

Tolkāppiyar insists that gender-number denoting element *(palarariṉkiḷavi)* in the subject and predicate should not disagree (TC.11.). He enumerates 11 gender-number suffixes and states these suffixes are added to the verbs (TC.5-10). He classified nouns as *uyartiṇai* (+human) and *aḵṟiṇai* (-human) earlier in the same section (TC.1). Single suffix denotes gender and number in Tamil and the suffix is called *tiṇaipāl*. These sutras in *Tolkāppiyam* make it clear that subject and predicate agreement is an important aspect in Tamil. Thus, it may be concluded that

Tolkāppiyar is aware of the importance of agreement between the subject and predicate and states explicitly that the element denoting gender-number in the noun and verb in a sentence should not disagree.

Kiḷavi-y-ākkam, the first section *(iyal)* in *Tolkāppiyam Collatikāram* (=TC) is concerned with the formation of grammatically correct and acceptable sentences. As such Tolkāppiyar's rules in this section take care of agreement in various levels of clauses or sentences and in discourses.

The commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* refer to the non-agreement/conformity of constituent members of a sentence as *vaḻu* or *mayakkam* i.e. deviation and state that this section deals with such deviations and makes the deviated sentence as acceptable.

The commentators classify the vaḻu into seven types.

I *tiṇai-mayakkam* (deviation in *tiṇai*)
(13) *avan vantatu
he came-it

In this sentence masculine noun is used with a predicate in a neuter which is wrong grammatically.

II *pāl-mayakkam.* (Deviation in *pāl)*
(14) **avaḷ vantān*
She came-he

In this sentence there is no agreement between subject and predicate in gender.

III *iṭa mayakkam* (Deviation in person)
(15) **Yāṉ vantāy*
I came-past-II P sing.

Here the first person pronoun is used with the second person predicate.

IV *kāla mayakkam* (Deviation in time)

*(16) *nēṟṟu varuvēṉ*

yesterday come-fu-

In this sentence the time adverbial *nēṟṟu* denoting yesterday is used with a predicate denoting future.

These four will suffice to illustrate the point. All the four sentences are grammatically incorrect and unacceptable as there is no agreement between the subject and object either in gender or person.

Now, let us take some specific *nūṟpās* from *Tolkāppiyam.* (TC.12), states that a word denoting hermaphrodite with more of feminine quality cannot be used in the masculine. It means this type of words should be used only with the predicate in feminine. Thus.

(17) *pēṭi vantāḷ*

Eunuch came-past-fem.

'Eunuch came'

(18) **pēṭi vantāṉ*

Eunuch came-past-mas.

'Eunuch came'

Here in this *sutra* again Tolkāppiyar insists that the agreement between the subject and predicate in gender should be maintained in order to derive a grammatically correct and acceptable sentence.

Tolkāppiyar formulates rules for the kind of predicate which should be used when *uyartiṇai* and *ahṟiṇai* nouns are used with a common predicate in a sentence. According to TC.51, the common predicate in such sentences is generally *ahriṇnai* eg. *taṭṭa viḷaiyalum takkārum tāḻvilāc celvarum cērnatatu natu* 'Kingdom is that which has inexhaustible production, right minded men and dignified rich men'

Here, in this sentence, *viḷaival* 'production' is a<u>rh</u>iṇai nouns and *takkār* or 'right minded men' and *celvar* or 'rich men' are *uyartiṇai nouns and the predicate cērvatu* 'joined together' is a<u>rh</u>iṇai.

3. Agreement in Sanskrit

Before we enter into a discussion on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi*, let us briefly present the agreement system in general in Sanskrit. Agreement in Sanskrit, generally, involves 1. Subject predicate. The predicate includes finite verb (FV) and non-finite verbal forms. 2. Adjective-noun or substantive. 3. Noun-noun and 4. Relative clause and its antecedent.

3.1 Subject - FV

(19) *rāmah* *gacchati*
Rama (non. sing. mas.) go-pres. III P. sing.
'Ram goes/is going'

(20) *aśvau* *gacchatah*
hourse (Nom.du.mas) go-pres-III P-plur. du.
'(Two) horses are going'

(21) *vānarāh* *gacchanti*
monkey (nom. Plur. mas) go-pres-III P.plur
'Monkeys are going'

Subject predicate agreement can be noticed here only in number i.e. the predicate does not show gender distinction. Consider the following:

(22) *sītā* *gacchati*
'Sita (Fem) is going'

(23) *jalam* (neu) *dravati*
'Water is flowing'

3.2 Subject-non-finite verb/participle agreement

(24) *sah gatah* (III Pers. mas. sing)
'He went'

(25) *sā gata* (III Pers. fem-sing)
'She went'

(26) *tad gatam* (III Pers.neu.sing)
'It went'

In the above instances subject-predicate agreement can be noticed in the gender as well. Thus subject-predicate agreement can be noticed only in number in the case of finite verb used as a predicate and both in number and gender in the case of participle used as predicate.

3.3 Noun-noun

The nouns such as *durlabha, āspada, pātra, bhājana, sthāṇa,* etc. are used predicatively. When these nouns are used as predicates, they retain their gender and number and the verb as 'to be' may be optionally used with them. However, the sense of this verb is to be understood and the (implied) verb agrees with the subject. Thus

(27) *subhṛtyah* *durlabhah*
servant good
'A good servant is difficult'

(28) *suputrah* *pituh* *sarvāspadam*
good son father's whole refuge
'A good son is the object of his father's pride'

(29) *sampadah* *padam* *āpadām*
riches Nom.pl abode misery-gen. pl.
'Riches are the abode of miseries'

As stated above the verb *as* agrees with the subject. Thus,

(30) *sampadah āpadam padam santi*
riches pl. misery gen. pl. abode are
'Riches are abode of miseries'

3.4 Noun or substantive-adjective agreement

Participles, pronouns, numeral and qualitative words can be used as adjectives in Sanskrit and when these words are used as adjectives, there is an agreement between the noun or substantive and adjectives in gender, number and case. Thus

(31) *gacchanti nārī*
go-pres. past-fem woman
'Going woman'

(32) *kā tṛptih*
interrogative fem. satisfaction -fem.
'What satisfaction?'

(33) *tat sukham*
that-dem. neu happiness
'That happiness'

(34) *śobhanāni gṛhāṇi*
beautiful new. pl. house-neu. pl.
'Beautiful houses'

(35) *śobhanebhyah gṛhebhayah*
good-abl. pl. neu. houses-abl. neu. pl.
'From good houses'

(36) *śobhanebhyah vāpīyah*
good-fem. abl. pl. well-fem. abl. pl.
'From good wells'

(37) *sāntvitā māmikā* *māta*
console-past. par. fem. my-possessive. pro. fem.
mother
'My mother was consoled'

(38) *tatah tvam māmakah muṣṭih*
then you my. poss. fist. mas
pron. mas
yamālayam nayisyati
abode of Yama lead-fut. III. sing.

'My fist, then, will lead you to the abode of Yama'

(39) *sarve vācam śrunuta imām madīyām*
all word(fem) listen this-fem poss.-pro. fem.
'Let all listen to my words'

(40) *daśarathasya catvārah putrāh santi*
Dasaratha four-Nom.pl. son-Nom.pl. are-gen. sing.
'Dasarattha has four sons'

(41) *catasṛṇām vadhūnām*
four-gen. pl. fem. bride. gen. pl.
'Of the four brides'

(42) *trīṇi pustakani*
three-nom. pl.neu. book-Nom.pl.neu.
'Three books'

3.5 Agreement between relative clause and its antecedent

Relative pronoun agrees with its antecedent in gender, number, and person; the case being determined by their relation to their respective clause. Thus

(43) *yasya asti vittam sah kulinah*
whose-gen. sing. wealth he-dem. noble family
rel. pron.is pron.sing.
'He who has wealth is of noble family'

(44) *sah* *suhṛt* *vyasane* *yah* *syāt*
he friend calamity -he-rel.pron. be
loc. sing.
'He who stands by in calamity is a (real) friend'

The above examples are but a selected few and not exhaustive illustration found in Sanskrit. There are exceptions too, to the general rule.

3.6 *Aṣṭādhayāyī*

Aṣṭādhyāyī contains rules for the formation of grammatically correct words as such one cannot expect clear cut statements regarding agreement system in Sanskrit in the rules of Pānini as one finds in the *Tolkāppiyam.* However, one can find a few rules which are specific statements about the agreement system. For instance, the rule 3.2.124 *laṭah śatṛ śānacau aprathamā samanādhikaraṇe.* The *krt* affixes *śatṛ* and *sānac* replace the 1-substitutes of *laṭ* when it has the same reference *(samānādhikaraṇe)* with a nominal *pada* (ending in *sup* triplets) other than the first *(aprathamā).*

(45) *pacantam* or *pacamānam* *devadattam* *pasya*
cook-pres. part cook-press. Part Devadatta see-Imp.
AC. sing AC. sing AC sing. II.sing.
'See Devadatta who is cooking'

(46) *pacatā* or *pacamanam* *kṛtam*
cook-pres. part cook-press. part prepare-past. part
Ins. sing Ins. sing
'Prepared by one who is cooking'

(47) *devadattah* *pacati*
Devadatta -Nom. -cook-pres.III per-
sing. r.sing
'Devadatta cooks'

The word *samānādhikaraṇe* denotes agreements. This *sutra* speaks about the agreement between the participle

used as adjective and the noun. It says that the present participles formed by the addition of suffixes *śatṛ* or *sānac* can be used with nominal *pada* other than the first only when they are co-referential. The examples given above show agreement between the participles and the adjective with which they occur in gender, number and case.

The word *samānādhikaraṇe* used by Pāṇini is very significant and can be applied to in other contexts as well. Pāṇini mentions the number of nominals as singular, dual and plural and what they stand for (1.4.20-21) and he also states the number and person of the verbal endings. Personal endings listed by Pāṇini includes both person and number. He also states that the suffixes listed under the *pratyāhāra tin* (3.4.78) includes three persons viz *prathama* or III person, *madhyama* or II person and *uttama* or I person (1.4.101-102). *tiŋ* triplets are said to be the substitutes of *lakāra* (a cover term for tense and mode) suffixes. Function of a verb is to denote the action performed by the agent or subject; it means that a verb requires a subject/agent to perform the action denoted by it. Pāṇini also lists the suffixes to be introduced after a nominal base to denote different cases (*sup.* triplets). Pāṇini's rules on inflection of nominals and conjugation of verbs are on a syntactico-semantic level. Consider the following:

(48) *aham* *gacchami*
I-Per., pron.Nom.sing. go-press. I Pers. sing.
'I am going'

(49) *tvam* *gacchasi*
you-Nom.sing.II.pers.pron. go-press. II per. sing.
'You are going'

(50) *sah / sā/ tat* *gacchati*
he/she/it-III pers.pron.sing. go-press.III pers.
'He/she/it is going'

It is not obligatory to mention the subject in such sentences in Sanskrit; it is being understood. Therefore, even if the verb *gacchāmi* is uttered without the subject *aham,* it conveys the meaning 'I am going'. Here the suffix -*mi* is *aham* 'I', as the suffix - *mi* is said to be of first person singular. And the subject of this predicate also should be first person pronoun, as expected by subject-predicate agreement.

Several rules of Pānini contain information relating to agreement. However, due to algebraic formula like nature of Pānini's sutras, one cannot find explicit statements everywhere and one has to do some permutation and combination to arrive at it. It is true not only in case of agreement system but also in the derivation of grammatically correct words which is the main concern of Pānini *(Śabdānuśāsana).*

4. Conclusion

Ancient Indian grammatical texts contain information about the agreement system direct or indirect. Whereas one could find explicit statements in *Tolkāppiyam,* one has to interpret it in Pānini's rules as there is a sea of difference between Tolkāppiyar and Pānini in their methodology.

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Concord in Dravidian and Hindi

K. VISWANATHAM

I. Introduction

Concord is a structural device in which certain words take forms in specified ways with certain other words in respect of person, number and gender. Certain languages like Sanskrit or Latin show well-developed and more systematic concord, whereas certain other languages like Malayalam or English have relatively negligible concord with very little functional value. We discuss below the types of concord found in major Dravidian languages Viz., Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam and compare it with the concord found in Hindi.

Concord is` found in Dravidian languages between subject and predicate. Te: *ne:nu la:yarunu* 'I am a lawyer' including adjectival predicates Ta: *avan nallavan* 'He is a good person' and subject and verb in respect of person, number and gender. Te: *adi wastuunnadi* 'That is coming' - 3rd Per. Neu. Sg., Ka: *awanu bartidda:ne* 'He is coming' 3rd Per. Mas. Sg. Concord in Hindi is found between subject and verb in respect of person, number and gender e.g. *maĩ a:ta: hũ:* 'I come', - 1st Per. Mas. Sg., *we: ja:te: haĩ* 'They go' - 3rd Per. Mas. P1, subject and copula verb in respect of person and number e.g.: *mai laṛka: hũ:* 'I am a boy - 1st er. Sg., *tum laṛka: ho:* 'You sg are a boy' -2nd Per. Mas., *wah laṛka: hai* 'He is a boy' -3rd Per. Mas. Sg., *we: laṛke: hai* 'They are boys' - 3rd Per. Mas. Pl. and in respect of number and gender between the modifying adjective and the head noun in head-modifier noun phrases eg: *accha: laṛka:* 'Good boy' *acche: laṛke:* 'Good boys', *acchi: laṛki:* 'Good girl'. In Dravidian languages this type of concord is found in respect of number only when the qualifying adjective is a numeral Ma: *raṇDu pustakankal* 'Two books', with distinction between human and non-human nouns in certain languages e.g.: Ka:

eraDu pustakagaḷu 'Two books', *ibbaru manuṣyaru* 'Two persons'; Te; *reṇDu pustaka:lu* 'Two books'. *iddaru abba:yilu* 'Two boys', However, some Central Dravidian languages like Gondi show agreement between the modifying adjective and the head noun in head-modifier noun phrases like in Hindi, which may he due to their geographical proximity to Hindi and other Modern Indo-Aryan languages in which this type of agreement exists.

2. Subject-predicate concord in verbless sentences

Verbless sentences are equative constructions with a noun or a pronoun occurring as subject and its referent as predicate. e.g. Te: *a:me Da:kṭaru* 'She is a doctor', Ka: *awanu widya:rthi* 'He is a student' which are found in the Dravidian languages as basic sentence units. These sentences occur in Malayalam and Hindi with a copulative form Ma: *ña:n widya:rthi a:ṇə̄* 'I am a student'; Hi: *mai laṛka: hū:* 'I am a boy'. In these sentences a sort of systematic concord is shown in respect of number in all the Dravidian languages though sometimes optional in spoken Kannada and Malayalam where only singular is used for both singular and plural e.g. Ka: *adu ondu pustaka* 'That is one book'; *adu hattu pustaka* 'They are ten books' - and in respect of both person and number in Telugu e.g. *ne:nu ma:sṭarnu* 'I am a master' - 1st Per. Sg. In Hindi this type of agreement is seen between the subject and the copula verb e.g. *maĩ laṛka: hū:* 'I am a boy'. *tum laṛke: ho:* 'You (Pl.) are boys', *wah laṛka: hai* 'He is a boy', *we: laṛke haĩ* '. They are boys', etc.,

a. Number concord

(i) First person

SINGULAR	PLURAL
TE: *ne:nu la:yarnu*	*me:mu la:yarlamu*
TA: *na:n la:yar*	*na:nkaḷ la:yarkaḷ*
KA: *na:nu la:yaru*	*na:wu la:yarugaḷu*

MA: *ña:n la:yar a:ṉḏ*	*ña:ŋkaḷ la:yarkaḷ a:nḏ*
HI: *maĩ la:yar hũ:*	*ham la:yar haĩ*
'I am a lawyer'	'We are lawyers'

(ii) Second person

SINGULAR	PLURAL
TE: *ni:wu (nuwwu) la:yaruwu*	*mi:ru la:yarlu*
TA: *ni: la:yar*	*ni:nkaḷ la:yarkaḷ*
KA: *ni:nu la:yaru*	*ni:wu la:yarugaḷu*
MA: *ni: la:yar a:ṉḏ*	*ni:nkal la:yar a:ṉḏ*
HI: *tu: la:yar hai*	*tum/ a:p la:yar ho:/ haĩ*
'You are a lawyer'	'you are lawyers'

(iii) Third person

SINGULAR	PLURAL
TE: *atanu la:yaru*	*wa:ḷḷu la:yarlu*
TA: *avan la:yar*	*avarkaḷ la:yarkaḷ*
KA: *awanu la:yaru*	*awaru la:yarugaḷu*
MA: *avan la:yar a:ṉḏ*	*awar la:yarkaḷ a:ṉḏ*
HI: *wah la:yar hai*	*we: la:yar haĩ*
'He is a lawyer'	'They are lawyers'

In the above sentences in all the five languages including Hindi we find that there is an agreement between singular pronoun and singular noun and plural pronoun and plural noun in all the three persons.

b. Person-number concord in Telugu and Hindi

(i) TELUGU

SINGULAR	PLURAL
ne:nu la:yarunu	*me:mu la:yarlamu*
'I am a lawyer'	'We (Excl.) are lawyers'

ni:wu (nuwwu) la:yaruvu 'You (Sg.) are a lawyer'	*mi:ru la:yarlu* 'You (Pl.) are lawyers'
atanu la:yaru 'He is a lawyer'	*wa:llu la:yarlu* 'They are lawyers'

(ii) HINDI

SINGULAR	**PLURAL**
maī laṛka: hū: 'I am a boy'	*ham laṛke: haī* 'We are boys'
tu: laṛka: hai 'You (Sg.) are a boy'	*tum laṛke: ho:* 'You (Pl.) are boys'
wah laṛka: hai 'He is a boy'	*we laṛke: haī* 'They are boys'

From the above data we find that in Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam we have only the number concord between both the constituents of the sentence, that is, the second constituent agrees in number with the first one. The same pattern is found in Hindi where the copula verbs *hai* and *haī* occur with singular and plural pronouns respectively, however, the first person singular and the second person plural are identified separately with *hū:* and *ho:* respectively.

But the concord we find in the Telugu forms is quite different from that of others. In Telugu, in the above sentences, in addition to the number concord, we also find the person concord. This is shown by suffixing the last syllable of the corresponding pronoun to the second constituent only in the first person singular and plural, and the second person singular in modern Telugu, with the already suffixed plural marker *-lu* changing into *-la.* This number-person concord is found only in Telugu as a special feature among the major Dravidian language. This

type of agreement however is not found in the second person plural and in the third person in modern Telugu.

Further, unlike in other Dravidian languages and Modern Aryan languages, this type of agreement is optionally found in negative sentences also in Telugu. Normally, *ka:du* is added to negate positive equative sentences like *ne:nu la:yarnu* 'I am a lawyer', *ne:nu la:yarnu ka:du* 'I am not a lawyer' in all the person, numbers and genders. But optionally *-du* the second syllable of the word *-ka:du* is replaced by *-nu, -wu, -du,* in first, second and third person singular with human pronouns respectively; and in plural *-mu, -ru* and *-wu* with first person human pronoun, second and third person human pronouns, and third person non-human pronoun respectively. For instance, look at the following sentences:

	SINGULAR	**PLURAL**
(i)	*ne:nu la:yarnu ka:du*	*me:mu la:yarlamu ka:du*
	ne:nu la:yarnu ka:nu	*me:mu la:yarlamu ka:mu*
	'I am not a lawyer'	'We are not lawyers'
(ii)	*ni:wu/ nuwwu la:yarwu ka:du*	*mi:ru la:yarlu ka:ru*
	ni:wu/ nuwwu la:yarwu ka:wu	
	'You (Sg.) are not a lawyer'	'You (Pl) are not lawyers'
(iii)	*wa:Du/ ataDu/ a:yana la:yaru ka:Du*	*wa:ḷḷu la:yarlu ka:du*
	wa:Du/ ataDu/ a:yana la:yaru ka:Du	*wa:ḷḷu la:yarlu ka:ru*
	'He is not a lawyer	'They are not lawyers'

We can observe a minute difference between each pair of sentences. For instance, the sentence, *ne:nu la:yarnu ka:du* indicates simply that 'I am not a lawyer', whereas *ne:nu la:yarnu ka:nu* indicates that 'I am not qualified as a lawyer'.

3. Subject - verb concord

The subject verb concord is a well developed pattern in Telugu, Tamil and Kannada where the verbal endings agree with the final syllable of the corresponding pronouns in number and person in Telugu in all the three persons eg. *ne:nu wastunna:nu* 'I am coming'.... *me:mu wastunna:mu* 'We are coming' *ni:wu* (*nuwwu*) *wastunna:wu* 'You (Sg.) are coming', *mi:ru wastunna:ru* 'You (Pl.) are coming', *wa:Du wastunna:Du* 'He is coming' *wa:ḷḷu wastunna:ru* 'They are coming'; and number and person in the first and second persons e.g. Ka: *na:nu ho:gti:ni* 'I will go' -- *ni:wu ho:gti:ri* 'You (Pl.) will go', number/gender and person in third person in Tamil and Kannada e.g. Ka: *awanu barutta:ne* 'He will come', *awaḷu barutta:ḷe* 'She will come', and *awaru barutta:re* 'They will come'. This is true in all the three tenses with positive verbs in these languages. The subject-verb agreement is also found in Telugu when the verb is in future-negative (e.g. *ne:nu ra:nu* 'I will not come', *me:mu ra:mu* 'We will not come', *mi:ru ra:ru* 'You (Pl.) will not come', *wa:Du ra:Du* 'He will not come', etc.

However, Malayalam verbs do not show any kind of agreement, and the same verbal form occurs in all the persons and with both singular and plural nouns of pronouns either masculine, feminine, or neuter e.g. *ńa:n po:y* 'I went', *ńaŋkaḷ po:y* 'We went', *ni: po:y* 'You (Sg.) went', *ńiŋkaḷ po:y* 'You (Pl.) went', *avan po:y* 'He went', *avar po:y* 'They went'.

In Hindi more or less the same type of agreement is seen between the subject and the copula verbs in the present tense, but unlike in Dravidian languages the main verb inflects and agrees along with the copula in person, number and gender of the subject. Now, let us see the following sentences with masculine nouns or pronouns in all the three persons.

PAST TENSE

SINGULAR	PLURAL
maĩ/tu:/wah gaya: tha: 'I/You (Sg.)/He went'	*ham/tum/we: gaye: the:* 'We/You/They went'

PRESENT TENSE

mai ja:ta: hũ: 'I go'	*ham jate: haĩ* 'We go'
tu: ja:ta: hai 'You (Sg.) go'	*tum jate: ho:* 'You (Pl.) go'
wah ja:ta: hai 'He goes'	*we: jate: haĩ* 'They go'

FUTURE TENSE

mai ja:u:nga: 'I will go'	*ham ja:ye:nge:* 'We will go'
tu: ja:ye:ga: 'You (Sg.) will go'	*tum ja:o:ge:* 'You (Pl.) will go'
wah ja:ye:ga: 'He will go'	*we:ja:ye:nge:* 'They will go'

In all the above sentences when the subject changes into a feminine noun or pronoun, *gaya: tha:* and *gaye: the:*, that is, the main verb and the copula would change into *gayi: thi:* in the past tense, the main verb *ja:ta:* and *ja:te:* would change into *ja:ti:* in the present tense, and *-u:nga:*, *-ye:ga:*, *-o:ge:* and *-ye:nge:* would change into *-u:ngi:*, *-ye:gi:* and *-ye:ngi:* respectively.

Now, looking at the above sentences, it is clearly seen that in Hindi a three - way contrast is maintained in the main verb in all the three tenses between masculine singular, masculine plural and the feminine (both singular and plural). In other words, the main verb ends in *-a:*, *-e:* and *-i:* for masculine singular, masculine plural and

feminine both singular and plural irrespectively. This type of agreement between subject and verb is not found in Dravidian languages, instead, we find a different type of concord in Telugu, Tamil and Kannada where the verbal endings agree with the number and person, and in Malayalam no such concord, as already mentioned, is found.

In addition to this, another peculiar type of agreement is found in Hindi between the finite verb in the past tense and the object. That is, the finite transitive verb in the past tense will agree with the number and gender of the object instead of subject as in *maine: kita:b paṛhi:* 'I read the book', *tum ne: kita:b paṛhi:* 'You read the book', *usne: kita:b paṛhi:* 'He read the book', etc. In the above sentences the subjects *mai 'I', tum* 'You (Pl.)' and *us-* 'He (oblique)' refer to first person singular, second person plural and third person singular respectively, but the verbal form is the same as it agrees with the object *kita:b* 'book' which is feminine singular.

We have seen from the above data that there is agreement between the subject and the verb for person, number and gender in some cases in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Hindi when the verb is positive, however in negative sentences the negative is marked in the verb itself in the Dravidian languages. The negative is expressed in Hindi using a negative word *nahĩ:* before the finite verb. In all these languages no agreement between the subject and the verb is found in negative sentences except in the future tense forms of Telugu where the concord is clearly marked as in the case of positive verbs. e.g. *ne:nu tinanu* 'I will not eat', *me:mu tinamu* 'We will not eat', *ni:wu tinawu* 'You (sg.) will not eat', *mi:ru tinaru* 'You (pl.) will not eat', *wa:Du tinaDu* 'He will not eat', *wa:ḷḷu (wa:ru) tinaru* 'They will not eat', thus, making Telugu different from the other Dravidian languages in this respect.

4. Adjectival concord

Unlike in Dravidian languages in Hindi and some other Modern Aryan languages we find a sort of agreement between the modifying adjective and the head noun in head modifier noun phrase type of constructions. Here the adjective inflects according to the number and gender of the head noun as in *accha: laṛka:* 'Good boy' - *acchi: laṛki:* 'Good girl' *acche: laṛke:* 'Good boys'. This is unique to Hindi and some other modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Similar type of agreement is found only in number in some of the Dravidian languages in respect of numeral adjectives and the head nouns. This agreement is not only found in the number e.g. Te. *renDu pustaka:lu* 'Two books' - though optional sometimes in spoken Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam - but two separate sets of numerals are used to modify human and non-human head nouns in Telugu and Kannada eg. Te. *renDu ka:kulu* 'Two crows' - *iddaru abba:yilu* 'Two boys', Ka: *eraDu na:yigaḷu* 'Two dogs', *ibbaru manuṣyaru* 'Two persons', etc.,

5. A pedagogical outlook

When we look at concord from a pedagogical point of view, it appears that Malayalam is the easiest one to learn as there is no concord at all between person, number and gender, and Telugu and Hindi being the most difficult. My personal experience shows that the adult second language learners from different mother tongue backgrounds find it difficult to master the person-number-gender concord in verbless sentences in Telugu even after ten months of intensive training, however, they are able to master the subject-verb concord after three to four months of learning. Similarly, it is observed that the Dravidian language speakers initially find it difficult to master the subject-verb-copula agreement for person-number and gender, and the adjective noun agreement in head-modifier phrase in Hindi, but are able to overcome this difficulty after twelve weeks of learning. However, the

object-verb concord in past tense in sentences with transitive verbs is the most difficult one to master, and the learners continue to commit errors even after a long duration of learning also. Thee learning problems posed by concord in these languages can easily be tackled by using well prepared teaching materials, and proper oral training followed by suitable exercises.

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Gender Agreement in Oriya: Dravidian or Munda?

PANCHANAN MOHANTY

I. Introduction

In most human languages it is found that the features like gender, number, person, and case of certain constituents are shared by certain other constituents in a sentence and this phenomenon has been termed 'agreement' in linguistic literature. Among different types of agreement the most commonly available ones are between the head and the modifier and between the subject and the verb or predicate. A careful look at the Oriya data reveals that there is no gender agreement between the subject and the verb unlike in Hindi and that agreement between the nouns and adjective with respect to gender is not at all Sanskritic though Oriya has been claimed to be a descendant of Sanskrit. So in this paper I intend to discuss, the nature and scope of this agreement between the nouns and their adjectives in Oriya and try to determine their sources.

2. Gender agreement in Indic languages

The Prakrit languages, in general, show only two genders, i.e. masculine and feminine though Sanskrit possessed a three gender system comprising masculine, feminine, and neuter. According to Kurylowicz (1964:207), it was an innovation in Indo-European, and he states, ... 'the fact must be duly stressed that the I.E. opposition masculine: feminine is younger than the contrast between the neuter and the animate gender. The derivational origin of the feminine (versus masculine) is obvious.' However, coming back to the Prakrits when grammatical gender is preserved in all the other Prakrits, it is lost in Magadhi which was spoken in Central India. This is the reason for

which gender is not significant in the Magadhi languages like Assamese, Bengali, Oriya and the Bihari dialects.

Scholars like Jules Bloch have argued that the decline of gender in these languages is due to their convergence with the Tibeto-Burman languages which do not have gender (see Chatterji 1970:721-722). But this argument cannot hold for Oriya and the Bihari dialects which are geographically far away from the Tibeto-Burman languages. So we will have to look for its cause somewhere else. An examination of the linguistic situation of Orissa and Bihar reveals that a number of Munda languages are spoken in these states. It should be noted here that Munda languages do not use affixes to express gender; rather they employ sex indicating words before the nouns for this purpose. For example, in Bonda, a South Munda language, */ba:/* 'Father' and */yan/* 'mother' can be used before */ku/* 'tiger' to get */ha:-ku/* 'male tiger' and */yan-ku/*. 'tigress' respectively. Also, in Mundari, a North Munda language, */sanDi/* 'cock' and */enga/* 'mother' are prefixed to nouns for this purpose. eg. */sanDi seta/* 'male dog' and */enga seta/* 'female dog'. In other words, the distinction between feminine and masculine is not a significant characteristic in Munda. Thus, the loss of gender in Oriya and in the Bihari dialects can be ascribed to the influence of Munda along with the usual phonological changes which took place in Magadhi, eg. dropping of */i/*, */u/* and consonants word-finality, and loss of distinction between short and long vowels. The latter is again due to Munda in which vowel length was never a characteristic feature. However, the point I am trying to make here is that loss of masculine-feminine distinction in the Eastern NIA languages is a result of the joint influence of the surrounding Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in this area.

The other point to be mentioned here is that after gender as a grammatical category became conspicuously weak in Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) due to the above

reasons, 'From the late MIA onward the grammatical feminine originated afresh from diminutives which have supplied the feminine in most NIA (New Indo-Aryan) languages' (Pischel 1981:280). That is why gender agreement is found between the noun and its modifier and between the subject and the verb in the Western and Northern NIA language like Marathi and Hindi. But interestingly this is not true about the Eastern NIA languages though evidence with reference to the above kinds of agreement can be found in *carya:gi:ti* meaning 'songs of conduct' which have been claimed to contain the earliest specimen of all the Eastern NIA languages. These songs were actually composed by 22 tantric Buddhist saints roughly between 9th and 12th centuries. The following examples are illustrative.

(1) (a) *diṭi: ṭa:ngi:* (song 5)
strong axe
'strong axe'

(b) *Dombi ba:puṛi:* (song 10)
a Domb woman poor
'a poor Domb woman'

(c) *ha:ṛeṛi ma:ḷi* (song 10)
bone's garland
'a garland of bones'

(2) (a) *buṛili: ma:tangi:* (song 14)
sank daughter of a low-class woman
'The daughter of a low-class woman sank.'

(b) *ṭuṭigeli kankha:* (song 37)
broke desire
'The desire was destroyed.'

(c) *la:geli a:gi* (song 47)
applied fire
'The fire caught'

Notice that in (1a) through (c) the modifiers /*diṭi:*/. /*ba:puṛi:*/ and /*ha:ṛeri*/ have gender-agreement with their feminine head nouns /*ṭa:ngi:*/, /*Dombi*/ and /*ma:ḷi*/ respectively. It should be pointed out that in /*hà:ṛeri*/, /*ri*/ consists of the genitive marker /*-ra*/ and the feminine /*-i*/. In case of non-feminine nouns we find only the genitive /*-ra*/ being used in these songs. For example.

(3) *kapaṭera a:sa* (song 1)
deceit's desire
'desire of deceit'.

Again, in (2a) through (c) we can see gender-agreement between the feminine subjects /*ma:tangi:*/, /*kankha:*/ and /*a:gi*/ and their verbs, i.e. /*buṛilli:*/, /*ṭuṭigeli*/ and /*la:geli*/, respectively. Though this trait is available in a language like Hindi, there is no trace of it in the Eastern NIA languages like Assamese, Bengali and Oriya. According to Chatterji (1970:220) this is a relic of the MIA, in this case Magadhi. But, again, he himself (1970:720) has stated that Magadhi did not possess grammatical gender. It should be mentioned that the language of *Carya:gi:ti* is known as /*sandha: bha:ṣa.*/ 'twilight language' because of the highly symbolic nature of the text. Each poem can have surface interpretation and a deep religious interpretation. Based on this it can be argued that this text was written in an artificial language, like Brajbuli, which most probably was not spoken by any speech community at any point of time. Wide variations in the pronominal usage, in fact, provide a clue to make such a claim. No natural language can have as many as five first person pronouns in the singular number alone. So my contention here is that along with archaisms there are borrowed elements in *Carya:gi:ti* and in all probability gender-agreement is one of them.

3. The Oriya scene

In his discussion on gender in the NIA languages, Beames (1970, Vol. II:147) states that '...... Bengali and Oriya have no gender at all, except in the pure Sanskrit *tatsmas,* now so largely introduced, which retain the form of Sanskrit grammar, but even this only in higher style.' Chatterji (1970:720) has reiterated the same position as follows: ..... this (gender) distinction has been entirely dropped in Bengali, in its *tadbhava* element. Adjectives qualifying feminine nouns (grammatical or natural) are sometimes furnished with an *-a:* or *-ika: (tatsama)* or an *-i:, -ni (tatsama* or *tadbhava)* affix, but these feminine forms are confined to *(tatsama)* and *semi-tatsama* words, and are entirely against the spirit of the language.' Though both these scholars emphasize that gender affects only the *tatsama* and *semi-tatsama* elements, Oriya has a different story to tell us. It does not allow gender agreement between the subject and the verb, but it shows this kind of agreement between the noun and its adjective even if the latter is from the *tadbhava* and indigenous sources. For example

Masculine		**Feminine**	
buṛha: 'old' *moṭa:* 'fat *ṭoka:* 'young' godara; 'swollen legged'	bara 'bridegroom'	*buṛhi* 'old' *moṭi* 'fat' *ṭoki* 'young' godari 'swollen legged'	kania: 'bride'

Notice here that */buṛha/*, derived from Sanskrit */vriddha/*, which is a *tadbhava adjective, and the other* three, i.e. */moṭa:/*, */ṭoka/ /godara:/* which are taken from the indigenous sources, agree with their head nouns in terms of gender. It should be made clear that this is not a

general rule of Oriya, and such an agreement is confined to a set of adjectives in this language. But before discussing it, let us consider the following examples.

(4) *buṛha: baḷadaṭie ra:st:re soici*
old ox-one road-on is sleeping
'An old ox is sleeping on the road.'

(5) *buṛhi ga:iṭie ra:sta:re soici*
old (fem.) cow-one road on is sleeping
'An old cow is sleeping on the road.'

In (5) the *tadbhava* adjective */buṛhi/* is feminine because */ga:i/* 'cow' is female whereas in (4) the unmarked adjective */buṛha:/* is used as */baḷada/* 'ox' is male. Again, notice that gender has no role to play so far as the agreement of the subject with the verb */soici/* is concerned, and it is evidenced by the fact that the same verb is used in both (4) and (5).

The above examples clearly indicate that gender in Oriya is not grammatical, but natural. Besides not-too-many lexically feminine words like */ma:/* 'mother', */jhia/* daughter', */bahu/* daughter-in-law', etc., Oriya uses a lot of feminine nouns which are derived from their masculine counterparts by attaching the feminine suffixes like */-ṇi a:ṇi uṇi/* along with the inherited */-i/*. For example.

Masculine	**Feminine**
ṭoka: 'lad'	*ṭoki* 'lass'
cora 'thief'	*coraṇi* 'female thief'
ba:rika 'barber'	*ba:rika:ṇi* 'female barber' or 'barber's wife'
gauṛa 'milk-man	*gauṛuṇi* 'milk woman' milkman's wife'

If we consider more Oriya data, it will be seen that there are a good number of adjectives which never take any feminine suffix: or, in other words, they are indeclinable. For example */baṛa/* 'big', */sa:na/* 'small', */nua:/* 'new', */puruṇa:/* 'old', */ra:gi/* 'angry', */khia:li/*

'moody', /*olu*/ 'stupid', /*ca:lu*/ 'clever', /*khara:p*/ 'bad', /*badma:s*/ 'mischievous', etc. can be used with both masculine as well as feminine nouns without any changes in their forms.

Adjectives are used in two different positions in a sentence in Oriya. i.e. as an attribute before the noun and as predicate after the noun. There are some specific adjectives which agree with their head nouns obligatorily. For example.

(6) (a) { **burha:* / *burhi* } *ga:ițe ja:uci*
old cow-one is going
'An old cow is going'

(b) *sei ga:ița:* { **burha:* / *burhi* }
that cow-def. old.'
'That cow is old.'

(7) (a) { **choța* / *choți* } *jhiața: bhala gita ga:e*
that lame girl-def. good song sings.
'That lame girl sings well'

(b) jhiata: { *choța:* / *choți* }
girl-def.lame
'The girl is lame.'

(8) (a) *sei* { *țera:* / *țeri* } *jhiata: a:suci*
that squint-girl-def is coming
'The squint eyed girl is coming.'

(b) *sei jhiața:* { *țera:* / *țeri* }
that girl-def. squint
'That girl is squint.'

The above examples show that only /*buṛha:*/ 'old' has gender-agreement with its head noun in both the attributive as well as predicative positions; but other adjectives have gender - agreement only if they are used as attributes; not predicates. It need not be emphasized that attributive adjectives are under the direct control of the head noun whereas this control is weakened when they are moved to the predicate. This is probably the reason for which there is agreement between the noun and its attributive adjective; but not between the noun and its predicative adjective in Oriya.

The other point is that the adjectives used in (6), (7) and (8) describe some physiological properties unlike the ones cited prior to these sentences. Thus, Oriya seems to allow gender agreement between the nouns and the adjectives when the latter are physiological in nature. In other words, those adjectives which belong to the physiological set are the targets of gender agreement in Oriya.

It is relevant to mention here that there is hardly any gender agreement between the nouns and the adjectives in Dravidian. In fact, adjectives....... 'have no gender or number forms....' (Andronov 1977:65) and they are treated as indeclinables in Dravidian. Consider the following examples from Telugu.

(9)	*pedda*	*abba:yi*
	'big'	'boy'
	pedda	*amma:yi*
	'big'	'girl'
	pedda	*peṭṭi*
	'big'	'box'

I want to stress here that at least eight Dravidian languages, out of the total of almost twenty-four, are spoken in Orissa. These figures clearly suggest that Oriya has been in close contact with Dravidian since time

immemorial. So the loss of gender agreement between the nouns and adjectives in these languages can be attributed to Dravidian influence.

The other significant thing to be noted here is that except /*ba:gha*/[1] 'tiger', the most important animal of Eastern India, no other animal can have a feminine form by attaching a feminine suffix. In all other cases, sex-indicating words are used before them to express their gender. For example

(10)	{ *aṇDira:* 'male' / *ma:i* 'female' }	*cheḷi* 'goat
(11)	{ *aṇDira:* / *ma:i* }	kukura 'dog'
(12)	{ *aṇDira:* / *ma:i* }	*bilei* 'cat'

It has been discussed in the beginning of this paper that this is a typical characteristic of the Munda languages. Therefore, so far as this characteristic is concerned Oriya can be said to have converged with Munda.

4. Conclusion

To sum up, the following points have been discussed in this paper.

(i) Though gender as a grammatical category is retained in other NIA languages, its loss in the Eastern NIA is

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[1] Tiger is so important that it is addressed as the maternal uncle in this part of the country. For a detailed discussion on it see Mohanty (to appear).

due to a combined influence of the surrounding Tibeto-Burman and Munda languages.

(ii) To be specific, the loss of gender in Oriya is due to Munda influence. Like Munda, it derives the feminine forms of various human nouns either by using separate words or by attaching the feminine suffixes like /*-i, -ṇi, -a:ṇi, -uṇi*/ though the feminine forms of the non-human animals are created by using sex-indicating words before them.

(iii) Only the attributive adjectives referring to physiological properties show gender agreement with their head nouns. Other adjectives do not show it, and in this respect Oriya seems to have converged with Dravidian wherein adjectives are treated as indeclinables.

(iv) The above mentioned gender-agreement in Oriya implies that the adjectives belonging to the physiological set are probably the most resistant to changes. This statement, however, requires supporting evidence from other languages to be proposed as a hypothesis. Thus, the un-Sanskritic nature of gender agreement in Oriya can be accounted for as the traits which it has acquired from Munda and Dravidian as a result of contact and convergence over the ages.

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Agreement in Kodagu

R. BALAKRISHNAN

Kodagu is one of the South Dravidian languages spoken in the Coorg district situated amongst the ridges of the Western Ghats between Mysore on the east and North Kerala and South Karnataka on the west in the present Karnataka State.

Agreement/concord between subject and predicate in a simple sentence is one of the special characteristic features of Dravidian languages. It is a well established fact that in Dravidian, the pronominal suffixes of verbs show close similarity to the corresponding personal/ demonstrative pronouns. Because of this fact many scholars like Caldwell (1956:481) were of the opinion that the pronouns were in course of time contracted into present day suffixes due to 'frequency of use and rapidity of enunciation' and their accentless position. But Ramaswami Aiyar (1936:52-62) rightly refutes this theory on the basis of historical and comparative evidences. Malayalam is the only language which is devoid of pronominal suffixes. It is proved that there is a gradualness in the dropping of personal suffixes from period to period in Malayalam (Subrahmanyam, 1971:404) And also all the Dravidian languages except Malayalam show person-gender-number suffixes in their verbs by suffixing the fragmentary terminations of the nominative form of the pronouns to the signs of tenses/negative marker (in the prohibitive mood)/verbal root (in the imperative mood). Therefore the reconstruction of pronominal terminations is inevitable in Proto-Dravidian. The main role of pronominal signs in the finite verb (FV) is to maintain the agreement/concord between persons or things.

In Kodagu there are two kinds of pronouns viz., (a) personal pronouns and (b) demonstrative and

interrogative pronouns. The personal pronouns do have the number distinction (singular and plural) and they are common to masculine and feminine. But the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns show gender-number distinction. Lyons (1968:272) states that the gender classification of the nouns in any language is mainly based on two phenomena viz., (a) pronominal reference and (b) adjectival concord. The pronominal reference in Kodagu as well as Tamil is found in the finite verbs and in the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns.

Though the pronominal signs of verbs show a close similarity to the corresponding personal or demonstrative and interrogative pronouns in Tamil, they vary according to the tense in Kodagu. However, the pronominal suffixes on finite verbs in Kodagu do not resemble the pronouns with which the verb stands in agreement in a sentence.

The pronouns and their pronominal signs in Kodagu

Pronouns	***Past***	***Non-past***	***Impera-tive***	***Prohibitive***
na:ni 'I'	*-e*	*-i*		
naŋga 'we'	*-ët(i)* *-ci*	*-a*		
ni:ni 'you (sg)'	*-iya*	*-iya*		*-e*
niŋga 'you (pl.)'	*-ira*	*-ira*	*-iri*	*-i*
aven 'he' *ava* 'she' *ayŋga* 'they'(hum.) *adi* 'it/they' (neut)	*-et(i)* *-ci*	*-a*		

It is evident that in Kodagu the persons of the verb are expressed by suffixes added to various categories like tense, imperative/prohibitive mood. The suffixes are grouped into two viz., (i) first and second person with singular-plural distinction and (ii) third person or DPN/Int. PN without gender-number distinction.

(a) First person

The first person singular sings in the finite verb are *-ë* and *-i* occurring in the past and non-past conjugations respectively.

(1)	*elïd-ïn-ë*	'(I) wrote'
	kej-j-ë	'(I) did'
	bud-d-ë	'(I) fell down'
	madi-nj-ë	'(I) died'
	enn-uv-i	'(I) will say'
	ba-pp-i	'(I) will come'

But there are three suffixes used to denote first person plural. They are (i) *-ët(i)* occurs afte the past-tense markers *-t-* and *-nd-*, (ii) *-ci* occurs after the past-tense marker *-i-*, and (iii) *-a* occurs after the non-pst markers.

(2)	*naŋga*	*aḷa-t-ëti*	'we sat down'
	naŋga	*ko-nd-ëti*	'we killed'
	naŋga	*o:d-i-ci*	'we read'
	naŋga	*o:d-uv-a*	'we will read'
	naŋga	*ka:m-b-a*	'we will see'

(b) Second person

The pronominal suffixes *-iya* in the tense conjugation, and *-e* in the prohibitive are used to denote second person singular.

(3)	*o:D-i-(i)ya*	'(you) ran'
	ka:t-iya	'(you) waited
	ba-nd-iya	'(you) came'
	ba-pp-iya	'(you) will come'
	a:d-uv-iya	'(you) will dance'
	o:d-	'(you) read'
	o:D-at-e	'(you) don't run'

In the same way the suffix *-ira* occurs in the tense conjugated forms, *-iri-* in the imperative mood and *-i* in the prohibitive mood for denoting second person plural.

(4)	*pa:D-t-(i)ra*	'(you) sang'
	aṭ-ṭ-ira	'(you) cooked'
	ala-nd-ira	'(you) measured'
	ala-pp-ira	'(you) will measure'
	ni:ŋg-uv-ira	'(you) will go aside'
	ma:D-iri	'(you) do'
	ma:D-at-i	'(you) don't do'

c. Third person/DPN

Though the gender-number distinction in most of the Dravidian languages is observed by the demonstrative/interrogative pronouns as well as pronominal signs in the finite verb, Kodagu shows four-fold gender distinctions viz., masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural and neuter only in the demonstrative/interrogative pronoun, but distributionally conditioned suffixes *-et(ı), -ci* and *a* are used to denote all genders. The distribution of these suffixes are same as it is found in the first person plural forms. Therefore the person/gender-number differences are to be identified by the occurrences of noun/phrase subject in a sentence. For instance,

5a.	*naŋga e:D-i-ci* 'We wrote'	5b.	*avën e:d-i-ci* he wrote'
6a.	*naŋga aDi-tëtï* 'we beat'	6b.	*ava aDi-t-ëtï* 'she beat'
7a.	*naŋga pare-nd-ëtï* 'we spoke'	7b.	*ayŋga pare-nd-ëtï* 'they spoke'
8a.	*naŋga o:D-uv-a* 'we will run'	8b.	*adï o:D-uv-a* 'it/they will run'
9a.	*naŋga kuDi-pp-a* 'we will drink'	9b.	*adï kuDi-pp-a* 'it/they will drink'

As far as the agreement system found in Kodagu, it is clear from the above instances that the pronominal signs of third person do not show gender-number distinction, which seems to be similar to that of the Nilgiri languages Toda and Kota. As these suffixes resemble that of first person plural in Kodagu one can ascertain that the agreement is preserved only in the singular of first person and singular and plural of second person. So it seems to be a fused system in Kodagu. By comparing with Tamil system many factors can be observed.

Pronouns	Pase	Present	Future	Imp.	Prohi.
I Sg. *ya:n/ na:n*	*-e:n* *(-en/-an/ al)*	*-e:n*	*-e:n*		
I Pl. *na:m/naŋkaḷ*	*-o:m (-em/e:m)*	*-o:m*	*-o:m*		
II Sg. *ni:*	*-a:y(-ay/i)*	*-a:y*	*-a:y*		
II Pl. *ni:r/ni:ŋkaḷ*	*-i:r(kaḷ)*	*-i:r(kaḷ)*	*-i:r (kaḷ)*	*-uŋkaḷ*	*-i:rkaḷ*
III Mas. Sg. *avan* Fem. Sg. *avaḷ* Ep.pl. *avar(kaḷ)* Neut.Sg. *atu* Neut.Pl. *avai*	*-an/ -a:n* *-aḷl/-a:ḷ* *-a:r(kaḷ)* *-ar* *-atu* *-a*	*-an/-a:n* *-aḷ/-a:ḷ* *-av/ a:rv (kaḷ)* *-atu* *-a*	*-an/-a:n* *-aḷ/-a:ḷ* *-av/ a:rv (kaḷ)* *-um* *-um*		

Pronouns and their pronominal signs in Tamil

It is evident that the first and second person signs closely resemble the nominative forms of the personal pronouns in Tamil. And also Tamil shows fivefold gender distinction in DPN as well as in FV. While Tamil has same pronominal signs in the conjugation of all tenses, Kodagu has different terminations depending upon the tense markers.

The following chart shows the reconstructed pronominal signs in PDr. and their reflexes in Tamil and Kodagu.

PDr. Markers	Tamil	Kodagu
I sg. * Vn	-en-e:n (-an, -al)	-ë, -i
I Pl. – * Vm	-em, -e:m (-am, -a:m) -o:m	-a, -ët (ï), -cï
II sg. - *a:y, *-i	-a:y, -ay, -i	-iya
II Pl. *- i:r	-i:r(kaḷ), -ir	-ira
III Masc. sg. * -a:n Fem.sg. *-a:ḷ Ep.pl. -*a:r Nuet.sg - *(V)t Nuet.pl. -*a	-a:n, -an -a:ḷ, - aḷ -a:r(kaḷ), -ar -(a)tu -a	-a, ët(ï), -ci

In the case of first person singular, the reflex *-e* of Kodagu can easily be derived from PDr. -Vn whereas the other reflex *-i* is to be considered as an independent development in Kodagu. However this suffix can be related to *-in* of Toda occurring after the non-past marker *-k-* (e.g. To. *pas-k-in.* 'I shall come'.) And also the identifiableness found between first person plural and third person markers are to be treated as an independent development in Kodagu. However, the pronominal suffix *-ci* occurring after the past tense marker *-i-* can be related to the Toda suffix (i) occurring in the past finite verb (eg. *pi:ci* (*pi:+S+ci*)

'he/she/they/it sent'). Then this suffix would have been extended to the first person plural in Kodagu.

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Agreement System in Kota

G. SUBBAIAH

1. Introduction

Kota, a South Dravidian language, exhibits the agreement system like other Dravidian languages. But the structure of agreement system is quite different from that of other Dravidian languages. Both the verb morphology and noun morphology exhibit agreement system. The present paper tries to describe the system both morphologically and syntactically, with reference to meaning.

Before discussing the system of agreement in Kota, it is apt to describe the nature and structure of agreement with its different kinds. Four types of agreement are found in Kota. They are Subject (Head noun)-Verb Predicate Agreement (Sub - V. Pre.); Subject-Adjective Predicate Agreement (Sub+A. Pre.); Third Person Pronoun-Kinship Noun Agreement (III Pro-KN.) and the Instrumental Subject-Verb Predicate Agreement (INST. Sub-V. Pre.)

Of these four kinds, except the instrumental subject-verb predicate Agreement, all other kinds exhibit their morphological formation and possess the agreement elements (morphological markers) being affixed to the corresponding morphological categories. Each kind of agreement systems is further classified into various sub-groups on the basis of meaning and function.

The morphological description of the Kota sentences helps to classify the sentences into declarative (which describe the normal statement of an act or an event), negative (denying or opposing what is said or what is done) and optative (self commanding). All these three kinds possess the morphological markers to express the agreement system in Kota. The declarative and the

negative sentences are further divided into several sub-groups on the basis of type of agreement.

The person-number-agreement (PNA) is clearly shown in the declarative sentences of the type $Decl_1$. The following illustrations will exemplify.

$Decl_1$

(1)	*ān*	*koṭpēn*	'I gave'
	I	gave-I	
(2)	*ām*	*koṭpēm*	'We(excl) gave'
	We (excl)	gave-we	
(3)	*ām*	*koṭpōn*	'We (incl) gave'
	We (incl)	gave-we	
(4)	*nī*	*koṭpī*	'You (sg) gave'
	You (sg)	gave-you	
(5)	*nīm*	*koṭpīm*	'You (pl) gave'
	You (pl)	gave-you	

$Decl_2$

(6)	*avn*	*koṭkō*	'He gave'
	He	ga-ve(?)	
(7)	*avḷ*	*koṭkō*	'She gave'
	She	gave-(?)	
(8)	*ad*	*koṭkō*	'It gave'
	It	gave-(?)	

$Decl_3$

(9)	*avn*	*koṭānē*	'He gave'
	He	gave-he	
(10)	*avḷ*	*koṭaḷē*	'She gave'
	She	gave-she	
(11)	*avr*	*koṭārē*	'They gave'
	They	gave-they	

The person-number agreement system is available only with the first person (IP) and second person (IIP) pronouns in the sentences of the $declarative_1$. Here the verbal predicate of the first person plural pronoun alone distinguishes between the inclusive (incl.) versus exclusive

(excl) distinction, which is not found in the plural pronoun *ām* 'We'. The verbal endings of the pronoun differentiate this kind of inclusive *-ōm* and exclusive *-ēm*. The sentences, those belonging to the second type of declarative do not exhibit either the person - number agreement or the person - number - gender agreement (PNGA). i.e. the person - number - gender agreement in these sentences is nullified. The third variety of declarative exhibits the person - number - gender agreement only in past tense form of the sentences. The above illustrations suitably exhibit the point.

The negation - the statement of denying or opposing what is said or what is done - is again classified into three varieties on the basis of meaning. They are called negation of statement/event - simple negation, negation of futurity, and negation of refusal/non-acceptability. Except the first-negation of statement, the other two varieties show only the person number agreement for all the three pronouns. The first variety is further classified into two sub-groups on the basis of agreement markers, as one sub-group exposes the person -number agreement, the other sub-group exposes nothing. i.e. simply neutralizes the agreement system. The following will illustrate these statements.

2. Negation of statement (simple negation)

Sub-group, (PNA):

(12) *ān* *koṛāypēn* 'I did not give'
I did not give-I

(13) *ām* *koṛāypēm* 'We (excl) did not give'
We (excl) did not give-we (excl)

(14) *ām* *koṛāypōm* 'We (incl.) did not give'
We (incl.) did not give-we (incl.)

(15) *nī* *koṛāypī* 'You (sg) did not give'
You (sg) did not give-you (sg)

(16) *nīm* *koṛāypīm* 'You (pl) did not give'
you (pl) did not give-you (pl)

Sub-group$_2$ (PN)

(17) *avn* *koṛāykō* 'He did not give'
He did not give-(?)
(18) *avḷ* *koṛāykō* 'She did not give'
She did not give-(?)
(19) *avr* *koṛāykō* 'They did not give'
They did not give-(?)
(20) *ad* *koṛāykō* 'It did not give'
it did not give

Negation of Futurity

(21) *ān* *tinēn* 'I will not eat'
I will not eat-I
(22) *ām* *tinēm* 'We (excl) will not eat'
We will not eat-we (excl)
(23) *ām* *tinōm* 'We (incl) will not eat'
We will not eat-we (incl)
(24) *nī* *tinī* 'You (sg) will not eat'
You (sg) will not eat-you(sg)
(25) *nīm* *tinīm* 'You (pl) will not eat'
You (pl) will not eat-you (pl)
(26) *avn* *tinā* 'He will not eat'
He will not eat-(She/He)
(27) *avḷ* *tinā* 'She will not eat'
She will not eat-(She/He)
(28) *avr* *tinām* 'They will not eat'
They will not eat-they

Negation of Refusal/Non-acceptability (Denying)

(29) *ān* *tiḏlārēn* 'I refuse/deny to eat'
I refuse/deny to eat-I
(30) *ām* *tiḏārēm* 'We (excl) refuse/deny to to eat'
We refuse/deny eat-we (excl)

(31)	*ām*	*tiḏlārōm*	'We (incl) refuse/deny to eat'
	We	refuse/deny to eat-we (incl)	
(32)	*nī*	*tiḏlārī*	'You (sg) refuse/deny to eat'
	You (sg)	refuse/deny to eat-you (sg)	
(33)	*nīm*	*tiḏlārīm*	'You (pl) refuse/deny to eat'
	You (pl)	refuse/deny to eat-you (pl)	
(34)	*avn*	*tiḏlārā*	'He refuse/deny to eat'
	He	refuse/deny to eat-(He/She)	
(35)	*avr*	*tiḏlārā*	'She refuse/deny to eat'
	She	refuse/deny to eat-(she/he)	
(36)	*avr*	*tiḏlārām*	'They refuse/deny to eat'
	They	refuse/deny to eat-They	

The optative sentences of Kota clearly maintain the person-number-gender agreement like the participle noun construction. In addition to the person-number-gender agreement, the person-number agreement is also available in the optative sentences. In the former the number distinction of singular and plural is noticed wherein the singular indicates the gender distinction of masculine and feminine whereas the plural is epicene. In the latter the common distinction of sing. and plural is noticed both in first and second persons.

But the participle noun construction does not have the person-number agreement. The following will be cited as the suitable illustrations for this.

3. Participle noun construction

(37)	*avan*	*tiḏpōn*	'He who ate/eats'
	he	one who ate/eats-he	
(38)	*avḷ*	*tiḏpōḷ*	'She who ate/eats'
	She	one who ate/eats-she	
(39)	*avr*	*tiḏpōr*	'They who ate/eat'
	They	those who ate/eat-they	

Permissive

(40)	*ān*	*tinkēnk*	'Let me eat'
	I	let eat-I	
(41)	*ām*	*tinkēmk*	'Let us (excl) eat'
	We	let eat-We (excl)	
(42)	*ām*	*tinkōmk*	'Let us (incl.) eat'
	We	let eat-we (incl.)	
(43)	*nī*	*tinkīk*	'Let you (sg) eat'
	You (sg)	let eat-you (sg)	
(44)	*nīm*	*tinkīmk*	'Let you (pl) eat'
	You (pl)	let eat-you (pl)	
(45)	*avn*	*tinkōnk*	'Let him eat'
	He	let eat-he	
(46)	*avḷ*	*tinkōlk*	'Let her eat'
	She	let eat-she	
(47)	*avr*	*tinkōrk*	'Let them eat'
	They	let eat-they	

4. Subject (Head) - adjectival predicate agreement

The adjectival predicates agree with the gender (person-number-gender) of the preceding subject (Head noun) of the sentence. The following illustrations will exemplify this.

(48) *ūn doD>ūn doD āḷ*
This man big/important
'This man is a big/important person'

(49) *ūḷ doD>ūḷ doDāc*
This woman big/important
'This woman is a big/important woman'

(50) *maln kun>maln kun-āḷ*
Mallan unimportant
'Mallan is an unimportantman'

(51) *mady kun > mady kun-āc*
Mady unimportant
'Mady is an unimportant woman'

(52) *pērīh doD pērēṇ doD-āḷ*
Grandfather important
'Grandfather is an important man'

(53) *cīr av doD -cīrav doD-āc*
Grandmother important
'Grandmother is an important lady'

5. Third person pronoun - kinship noun agreement

The Third person pronoun which precedes a kinship noun changes its gender according to the gender of the kinship pronoun.

(54) *avn + ay = avḷay*
He mother
'His mother' (Lit:her mother)

(55) *avn + akn = avḷakn*
He elder sister
'His elder sister' (Lit: her sister)

(56) *avn + ped = avḷped*
He wife
'His wife' (Lit: her wife)

(57) *avn + an = avn an*
He elder brother
'His elder brother'

(58) *avn + karāl = avn karāl*
He younger brother
'His younger brother'

(59) *avḷ + ayn = avn ay*
She father
'Her father' (Lit: his father)

(60) *avḷ + karāl = avn karāḷ*
She younger brother
'Her younger brother' (Lit:his younger brother)

(61) *avḷ + an = avnan*
She elder brother
'Her elder brother' (Lit: her elder brother)

(62) *avḷ + akn = avḷakn*
She elder sister
'Her elder sister'

(63) *avḷ + karā= avl karāc*
She younger sister
'Her younger sister'

6. Instrumental subject - verb predicate agreement

The fourth type of agreement found in Kota is the instrumental subject (Inst. Sub)-verb predicate agreement. This kind is a syntactical characteristic which is quite different from the other types. The active sentence (normal declarative one) when it is transformed into the corresponding passive sentence, the agreement of the original sentence (active sentence) is maintained in the transformed passive sentence. In other words, the subject-verb predicate agreement in the original sentence (active) does not change by the application of passive transformation. i.e. though the subject of the active sentence is transformed into an instrumental subject, its original relationship with the verb predicate is kept intact. Normally in languages like Tamil, the subject verb predicate agreement of an active sentence is not the same when the sentence gets transformed into a passive sentence. The following illustrations will exemplify the point.

Kota

(64) (a) *ān pujn tavircpēn*
I tiger-obj. killed-I
'I killed the tiger'

(b) *puj en-āl tavircpēn*
tiger me-instr killed-I
(Lit: I, by me Tiger was killed)
'Tiger was killed by me'

Tamil

(65) (a) *nān puliyaik ko<u>nr</u>ē<u>n</u>*
I tiger-obj killed-I
'I killed the tiger'

(b) *puli ennāl kollappaṭṭatu*
Tiger me-instr killed-it
'Tiger was killed by me'

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Agreement in Adilabad Gondi

K. RAMESH KUMAR AND T. VENKATA SWAMY

The Gondi language is spoken in five different states of central India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Orissa and Maharastra. Even though it has several dialects the present paper restricts itself to the Gondi dialect spoken in Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh. It is well known from the studies on different languages that agreement is a widespread phenomenon and it is found in three quarters of the languages of the world (Mallinson and Blake 1981:184). There is no generally accepted definition on agreement. But a useful definition is provided by Steele (1978:610). "The term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another. For example, adjectives may take some formal indication of the number and gender of noun they modify". The main point is that the grammatical relationship between words is manifested in the form of corresponding elements, such as noun and adjective. In many languages it is reflected through inflectional morphology.

In Dravidian languages the verb agrees with the subject nominal. When the subject nominal elements are reflected in the verb morphology, there are certain restrictions or modifications on some elements. In this paper an attempt is made to study agreement at the morpho-syntactic level in Adilabad Gondi dialect (AGD). Sometimes there also might be some restrictions on the other elements preceding the agreement elements, such as the presence of present tense marker /-k-/ in the first and second persons is obligatory but in third person it is absent on the verb. Predicate position in Adilabad Gondi dialect may be occupied by a verb, adjective, or a noun. Therefore the agreement markers with all these varieties of predicates are studied. The present paper provides data

and discussion on the restrictions as well as agreement system reflected in the verb morphology, gender, classifier, number, adjectival and multiple agreement in Adilabad Gondi dialect.

The category of person plays an important role in Adilabad Gondi dialect both in the formation of pronouns and their verbal agreement. The agreement on the finite verb shows number and person of the participant pronouns in the subject position, whereas in the case of non-participant pronouns such as demonstratives, interrogatives etc. the third element gender also plays an important role. Let us examine the following sentences.

(1) *nan nāluŋ(ganṭānku tēt-t-ōn* 'I got up at 4'O clock'
(2) *mam nāluŋ ganṭānku tēt-t-ōm* 'We (excl) got up at 4'O clock'
(3) *marat̤ nāluŋ ganṭānku tēt-t-āṭ* 'We (incl) got up at 4'O clock'

These examples show that Adilabad Gondi dialect employs pronominal markers on the vebr to show the agreement. The pronominal markers *ōn, ōm* and *ā*□ indicate the combination of features i.e. *ōn* contains first person and singular number. Similarly in *ōm* it contains first person and plural number. When first person and plural are joined together an additional feature has to be accounted, namely [+/- inclusive]. That is there are two first person plural pronouns *mam* 'we' [-inclusive] and *maraṭ* 'we' [+ inclusive]. The feature +/- inclusive shows the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee as *maraṭ* necessarily presupposes the inclusion of addressee and *mam* necessarily excludes the addressee but includes at least one non-participant person. This is reflected in the finite verb in the form of agreement suffix i.e. *ōm* -inclusive and *āt* +inclusive. The semantic distinction of inclusion and exclusion is clearly indicated on the finite verb.

(4) *nim nāluŋ ganṭānku tēt-t-i* 'You got up at 4'O clock'
(5) *miraṭ nālun ganṭāku tēt-t-īṭ* 'You (pl.) got up at 4'O clock'

Like the first person pronouns, *i* and *īṭ* also show a combination of semantic features of person and number. The second person plural pronoun *miraṭ* is vague with respect to the semantic features of its plurality. It shows either the conjunction of more than one addressee or the conjunct of one addressee with one or more non-participants. The personal pronoun 'you (plural)' is a product of any one of the following possible combinations that can be selected from:

	wōr		he
(6) *nimme* +	*addu*	'You (Sg)+	she/it
	wuru		they (human masc)
	aw		they (other than human masc).

These semantic shades are not manifested either in the pronouns or in the personal markers.

So far we have discussed the agreement system of participant (personal) pronouns. These first and second person pronouns in Adilabad Gondi dialect, like other Dravidian languages, do not show gender distinction on the verb. When the non-participants occur in the subject position the pronominal markers specify the feature of gender clearly, besides person and number. Examine the following sentences:

(7) *wōr pōdrek wā-t-or*	'he came in the evening'
(8) *addu pōdrek wā-t-a*	'she/it came in the evening'
(9) *wuru pōdrek wā-t-er*	'they (human masc) came in the evening
(10) aw pōdrek wā-t-āŋ	'they (other than human masc) came in the evening'

A cursory look at these examples clearly indicates that the gender is marked both in singular and plural on the pronominal markers. The division of nouns into human masculine vs other than human masculine is essential for the verbal gender. The human feminine goes along with

the non-human nouns both in singular and plural. Therefore, the distinction of human masculine vs other than human masculine is neatly represented in Adilabad Gondi dialect. The examples discussed so far do not show any gender agreement when the subject is one of the participant pronouns. This holds good for all the cases of verbal predicates. But whenever the predicate is a noun or an adjective, gender agreement with the semantic gender of the speaker or the addressee is necessary.

(11) *nan mātra-na*	'I am an old man'
(12) *nan mātri māyna-na*	'I am an old woman'
(13) *nim kānDi-ni*	'You are a boy'
(14) *nim weylo pēDi-ni*	'You are a girl'

In the above sentences the gender distinction of human masculine vs other than human masculine is not shown but only the number and person are marked. The following are the personal pronouns in Adilabad Gondi dialect and their pronominal markers on the verb.

Singular	**Plural**
(15) *nanna* 'I'	*mammuk* 'we (Excl)'
	maraṭ 'we (incl)'
nimme 'you (sg)'	*miraṭ* 'you (pl.)'
wōru 'he (distant)'	*wūru* 'they (human masc. pl. distant)'
wēru 'he (prox)'	*wīru* 'these (human masc. pl. prox)'
addu 'she (distant)'	*awwu* 'they (other than human masc. pl. distant).
iddu 'she (prox)'	*iwwu* 'they (non-masc. pl. prox)

The following are the pronominal markers of subjects on the verb.

	Positive		**Negative**	
(16) Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	*-ōn*	*-ōm* (excl.) *-āṭ* (incl.)	*-ōn*	*-ōm* (excl.) *-āṭ (incl.)*
II	*-i*	*-īṭ*	*-i*	*-īṭ*
III	*-ōr*	*-ēr*	*-ōr*	*-ūr*
	-a	*-āŋ*	*-o*	*-ōŋ*

The following verb paradigms in past, present and future tenses show the agreement through the pronominal markers on the verb.

	Past tense positive		**Past tense negative**
(17) Person	Singular	Plural	Singular & Plural
I	*ēl-t-ōn* 'I ruled'	*ēl-t-ōm* 'we (excl) ruled'	*ēlmaki* 'I did not rule'
		ēl-t-āṭ 'we (incl.) ruled'	*ēlmaki* 'we did not rule'
II	*ēl-t-i* 'you (sg) ruled'	*ēl-t-īṭ* 'you (pl.) ruled'	*ēlmaki* 'you (pl.) did not rule'
III	*ēl-t-ōr* 'he ruled'	*ēl-t-ēr* 'they (hum, masc) ruled'	*ēlmaki* 'did not rule'
	ēl-t-a 'ot. hum. masc. ruled'	*ēl-t-āŋ* 'ot. hum. masc. ruled'	*ēlmaki* 'did not rule'

In the above positive forms, the person agreement markers are present, whereas in the negative person markers are absent.

	Present tense positive		**Present tense negative**	
(18) Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
I	*ēl-k-a* 'I am ruling'	*ēl-k-om* 'we (excl.) are ruling'	*ēl-on* 'I am not ruling'	*ēl-ōm* 'we (excl.) are not ruling'

		ēl-k-āṭ 'we (incl.) are ruling'		*ēl-waṭ* 'we (incl) are not ruling'
	ēl-k-i 'you are ruling'	*ēl-k-īṭ* 'you are ruling'	*ēl-w-i* 'you are not ruling'	*ēl-w-īṭ* 'you are not ruling'
III	*ēlan-ūr* 'he is ruling.	*ēlan-īr* 'they (hum. masc) are ruling'	*ēl-ōr* 'he is not ruling'	*ēl-ūr* 'they (hum. masc) are not ruling'
	ēla-nt-a 'she (ot. hum. masc) is ruling'	*ēlan-ūŋ* 'they (ot. hum. masc are ruling'	*ēl-ō* 'she (ot. hum. masc) is ruling'	*ēl-ōŋ* 'they (ot. hum. not masc) are not ruling'

In the above present positive forms for the participant pronouns the tense marker *-k-* is present whereas for the non-participant pronouns the tense marker is absent. This shows that there is a restriction on the occurrence of tense marker. In other words the subject is controlling the tense marker. In negative the marker is absent for the non-participant pronouns and for participant inclusive plural (we.)

		Future tense positive		**Future tense negative**	
	Person	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
(19)	I	*ēla-nt-ōn* 'I will rule'	*ēla-nt-ōm* 'we (excl) will rule'	*ēl-ōn* 'I will not rule'	*ēl-ōm* 'we (excl) will not rule'
			ēla-nt-āṭ 'we (incl.) will rule'		*ēl-w-āṭ* 'we (incl.) will not rule'

II	*ēla-nt-i* 'you will rule'	*ēla-nt-īṭ* 'you will rule'	*ēl-w-i* 'you will not rule'	*ēl-w-īṭ* 'you will not rule'
III	*ēla-nt-ōr* 'he will rule'	*ēla-nt-ēr* 'they (hum. masc) will rule'	*ēl-ōr* 'he will not rule'	*ēl-ūr* 'They (hum. masc.) will not rule'
	ēla-nt-a 'she (ot. hum. masc) will rule'	*ēla-nt-āŋ* 'they (ot. hum.masc) will rule'	*ēl-ō* 'she (ot. hum.masc) will not rule'	*ēl-ōŋ* 'they (ot. hum masc) will not rule'

The above present paradigms show the presence of person markers both in positive and negative.

Gender agreement

(20) *or cokoṭnōr kāṇDi* 'He is a good boy.'

(21) *ad cokoṭ pēDi* 'She is a good girl.'

In the above sentences the adjective agree with the genders. i.e. human masculine and other than human masculine the markers being *-r* or respectively.

Number agreement

(22) *iw ranDu reggu-k kaṭṭul-k* (*āndu-ŋ*)
'These are two big cots.

(23) *id tōDita buDDi* (*āndu*)
'This is an earthen pot'

(24) *iw tōDitan buDDiŋ* (*āndun*)
'These are earthen pots'

In the above sentences the adjectives agree with the noun in number. The markers are Ø and -ŋ for singular and plural respectively.

Gender and number agreement

(25) *ūru kāryalir māynalir* (*āndūr*) 'They are black men'

(26) *aw kāryalik weylok* (*āndūŋ*) 'They are black women'

In the above sentences the adjectives take the gender number suffixes - *ir* and *-ik*.

Multiple agreement

(27) *iw doh-ku paDāna-ŋ glās-k bōna-ŋ*
'whose are these ten old glasses?'

In the above sentence there are multiple agreement markers in the form of *-ku, -ŋ, -k and -ŋ*. Apart from the adjectival agreement with the noun in number, the numeral also takes the plural suffix.

Nominal adjectives

(28) *ad toDi-tan buDDi* 'That is an earthen pot'
(29) *aw toDi-tan buDDi-ŋ* 'Those are earthen pots.
(30) *ad soneta gajuli* 'That is a golden - bangle'
(31) *aw sonetaŋ gajuli -ŋ* 'Those are golden bangles'

In these sentences the adjectives qualify the noun. In such cases the adjectives take the markers *-ta* and *-taŋ* for singular and plural (other than human masculine) respectively. In the following sentences the adjectives or pronouns are in predicate position in which cases also the same forms are used.

(32) *ad buDDi toD-i-ta* 'that pot is earthen'

(33) *aw buDDin toDitan* 'those pots are earthen'

In conjoined subject - NP's wherein III person pronoun referring to a combination of human masculine and the rest, in such instance the agreement in Adilabad Gondi dialect is always with the human masculine but Manda (Ramakrishna Reddy, 1991) shows the other way i.e. the agreement in such instances is with female plural.

(34) *wōŋku nālvir kānDir nāluŋ pēDik mantēr*
'He has four sons and four daughters'

Conclusion

This study shows that the adjectives agree with the noun in gender (i.e. human masculine vs other than the human masculine) and number. It also shows that the adjectives in predicate position do not differ in agreement and structure with that of nominal adjectives. The finite verb in positive indicates the person agreement markers for all persons. In past negative, person agreement markers are absent. In present tense positive form the tense suffix *-k-* is restricted to the participant pronouns only. In conjoined NP's where human masculine and feminine pronouns occur, the agreement is always with human masculine. Thu the interaction of the semantic features of person, number and gender as reflected in Adilabad Gondi dialect is explored in a sketchy fashion. More elaborate fieldwork and analyses are planned for future investigation.

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Agreement in Manda:
Grammar and Meaning

B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY

1. Introduction

Manda [*manDa*] is a member of the South-Central Dravidian group spoken by a section of the Kondh (Khond/Kondh/Kondo) tribe inhabiting the highlands of Thuamul Rampur, Kalahandi district, Orissa. It was discovered by Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970:VI) during their fieldwork on Pengo in 1965-66. Culturally the Kondh Parjas form a single homogenous tribe but they speak five different languages, namely, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Manda and Indi-Awe. Except Kui, the speakers of the rest have innovated indigenous naming pattern for their languages deriving the ethnonymy from the negative conjugation of third person neuter singular of the copulative-predicative verb *ā* 'to be'. Thus among the tribes Kuvi is alternatively known as *āʔe* 'no, not' Pengo as *akay* or *awut*, Manda as *āwu* and Indi as *āwe*. This is an instance of a large ethnic tribe distinguishing its sub-identity on the basis of a linguistic feature.

The records of the Government of India (such as the Census) do not mention Manda as a separate language as the speakers are enumerated under the generic label of Kondhs. Based on our intensive field trips, it is estimated that the native speakers of Manda may number around 5000 to 6000. They live in about 60 villages under the Thuamul Rampur Block, a part of highlands bordering the districts of Kalahandi and Rayagada of southern Orissa. Thuamul Rampur is located about 80 kilometers south of Bhawanipatna, the district head quarters of Kalahandi.

Our principal informant Mr. Sanatan Majhi hails from Katkura village, which is 5 kilometers away further south of Thuamul Rampur. The main sources of the following analysis and description of agreement in Manda are my own field notes and research articles both published and unpublished.

As stated elsewhere (Ramakrishna Reddy 1991: 33) "Agreement (or concord) is a grammatical device through which the semantico-syntactic properties of a particular constituent are manifested in the structure of another constituent within a clause or across the clauses. Typically there are three candidates involved: (i) the constituents in agreement (ii) the agreement markers, and (iii) the underlying semantic features of agreement. Thus the process of agreement minimally spreads over semantics, syntax and morphology. Agreement stems from the referential expressions of nouns and pronouns though it may be marked in the inflection of other categories, as for example in the Dravidian predicate. The inherent nominal features of person, gender, number, animacy and class are reflected in the lexical and/or grammatical structures of Dravidian languages. Agreement can be noticed throughout the hierarchy of linguistic levels of phrase, clause, sentence or beyond."

In the above definition the syntactic constituents in agreement can be devided into the controller and target (as proposed by Corbett, 1994), for example a noun or pronoun in subject position acts as a controller while the predicate which reflects certain semantico-grammatical features (of the subject) will be the target. The agreement markers on the predicate designate the underlying referential semantic categories of person, number and gender, among other features. Dravidian predicate may be filled by a verb, noun (or pronoun), adjective or adverb. It

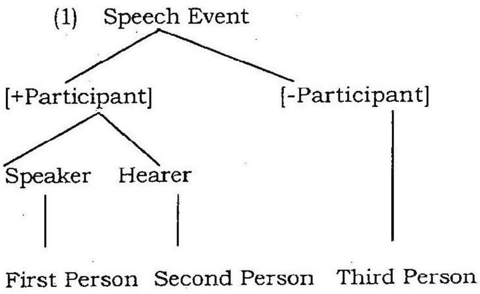
is inflected for subject in almost all the Dravidian languages, but Manda and other Kondh Dravidian languages exhibit several unique and distinct characteristics with regard to agreement system in their grammar. Apart from the general subject-predicate concord, Manda for instance, exhibits person-object agreement, distal action agreement and plural action (or verbal number) agreement. These latter three traits are innovations in Kondh languages under the impact of neighboring Munda languages (Ramakrishna Reddy 1980 and 1992). A brief exploration into the dimensions of grammar and meaning of agreement system in Manda is undertaken in the sections that follow.

2. Subject agreement

In modern grammatical analysis it has been an accepted practice to divide a simple sentence as consisting of subject and predicate. The subject slot is typically filled by a noun (or noun phrase) or a pronoun. The nominal elements in a language can be classified into various divisions with the help of pronouns. Except the pronouns standing for the first and second person, the resest of the pronouns like demonstratives, interrogatives, place and time adverbs represent the nouns or referential expressions at large. In other words, the pronouns sieve the nouns to label them on the grammatical plane in terms of features like person, number, gender and the like. The category of person plays a crucial role both in the formation of pronouns and their predicate agreement.

As stated by Lyons (1968:276) "The category of person is clearly definable with reference to-the notion of participant roles: the 'first' person is used by the speaker to refer to himself as a subject of discourse; the 'second' person is used to refer to the hearer; and the 'third' person is used to refer to

persons or things other than the speaker and hearer." It can be inferred from this definition that the referential function of language is at the centre involving the concept of person. The identification and emergence of person system may, schematically, be represented as in (1).



Natural language systems do not copy the above simplistic schema as a one-to-one representation in their lexicon or grammar. Rather there are different combinations of the above three 'persons' themselves on the one hand, and the combination of such other grammatical categories as number and gender on the other, which convert the person system into a complex of categories.

An examination of the combinatorial possibilities among the three persons and the resulting personal pronouns can be shown as in (2) with a perspective of componential analysis of the lexical (or semantic) field of person:

(2)	Speaker	Addressee	Referent
I Person	+	±	±
II Person	-	+	±
III Person	-	-	+

In case the speaker is referring just to himself alone the first person singular 'I' will emerge which is a universal category. If there is inclusion of more than one addressee and optionally one or more referents together with the speaker, it results in the first person plural inclusive 'we' as found in Telugu, Kuvi, Manda, and many other languages. The combination of speaker with more than one referent leaving out the hearer will give rise to the first person plural exclusive as in Telugu, Manda, Kui, Kuvi, Indi-Awe, and a host of other languages. The crucial point here is the inclusion or exclusion of the addressee with the speaker; and whether only these two are involved or is there reference to more than one hearer or referent. Within the personal pronouns there is a universal hierarchy in terms of the output of their conjunction in terms of first person > second person > third person. In contextual terms the hierarchy can be restated as speaker > listener > referent, irrespective of the number of other persons or entities involved. In grammatical terms we shall confine our discussion to the personal pronouns (I, II, and III) and demonstratives, which emerge on the basis of locational information (from speaker's viewpoint) combined with descriptive information

As stated above, pronoun system in Manda forms the basis for the entire agreement pattern in the language. A division into participant and non-participant (i.e. demonstrative) pronouns is an essential factor. When the participant pronouns are the subject only the person and number categories are marked on the predicate, whereas with the non-participants all the three features of person, number and gender are manifested in the predicate morphology. Observe the following paradigm with the verb *kēr* 'to sing'

(3) *āne kēr-t-u* 'I sang'
I sing past I

āme kēr-t-uŋ 'We (excl) sang)
we we (excl)

āme kēr-t-uhu 'We (incl) sang
we we (incl)

īne kēr-t-i
you (sg) you(sg) 'You (sg) sang'

īme kēr-t-ir
you (pl) you (pl) 'You (pl) sang'

evan kēr-t-un 'He sang'
he he
evar kēr-t-ir 'They (men) sang'
they (men)

edel/edi kēr-t-i 'She/it sang'
she it she/it

evahiŋ/eve kēr-t-iŋ 'They (women/animals) sang'
they they they
(women) (neut)

Notice that the distinction of inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural is marked only on the agreement morphology, but not in the pronoun system, i.e. the distinction is not lexicalized, but merely morphologized. Another noteworthy neutralization is in the agreement markers for third person wherein a division of masculine versus the rest (i.e. feminine plus neuter) is manifested in the agreement morphology, though a distinction between feminine and neuter is maintained at the lexical level. For

the purpose of further comparison, the pronominal endings (as agreement markers) are listed hereunder as they appear on a verbal predicate.

(4) person	sing	plural
I	*-u*	*-uŋ* (excl)
		-uhu (incl)
II	*-i*	*-ir*
III Hum. Masc.	*-un*	*-ir*
Rest (other than Hum.Masc.)	*-i*	*-iŋ*

Predicate agreement with a subject of conjoined nouns consisting male human and female human or male human and neuter nouns shows the non-masculine plural marker *-iŋ* in its verb morphology. In a combination of male human and non-male human (or non-human) it is the latter that controls the agreement irrespective of order of the elements.

(5) *burka, kulya ār ēnpatinbanan-tīnjaNa*
tiger fox and beggar (man) three people

kuvi-ta ha-s-iŋ
well to go past they (non-masc.)
'The tiger, fox and the beggar went to the well'.

Here in (5) the combination of man and animals giving rise to human classifier *jaNa* does not prevent the output agreement with non-masculine neuter plural. When the conjoined subject NPs consist of an exclusive III P pronouns referring to a combination of male and female (i.e. man and woman), in most of the languages the pronominal ending standing for human, (male + plural) also stands for the conjunction of more than one woman.

In other words, within the gender system the male is more prevalent than the female e.g. in Tamil, Gondi, Kuvi, Kurux and others. Manda stands as an exception to this general trend in that a combination of men and women in its output opts for the verbal ending of the female plural.

The prevailing hierarchy of Manda is reflected even in a situation of anaphora, which of course is a type of inter-sentential agreement.

(6) *ru nāTa buRa buDya ma-s-iŋ*
one village-in old man old woman live past they (non-masc)
evahiŋ-ka hīmNaŋ lāva-t-iŋ
they (non-male) to children be not past they (non-masc)

'There lived an old man and old woman in a village. They had no children'.

The subject agreement in both the sentences (of 6) opts for the features of (III P, non-macs. plural) though the combined subject NPs contain both masculine and feminine reference. The feature non-masculine dominates the masculine in a conjoined context. Even the word for 'children' is treated in this fashion as marked by the pronominal element of the finite verb. In other words, contrary to the feature dominance of masculine over the feminine (and neuter), it is the feminine that controls the gender hierarchy of agreement in Manda.

So far we have looked at the phenomenon of subject predicate agreement in the contexts where the verb occupies the predicate position. Let us turn our attention to the facts of structure wherein the non-verb categories occur in the predicate. We shall particularly discuss the meaning and structure of predicative adjectives (or

adjectival predicates), predicative nominals (or nominal predicates) and predicative adverbials from the perspective of subject agreement. These types of constructions are sometimes labeled as verbless sentences basing on their structure in the non-past affirmative type. However, they are not verbless throughout their derivation as they do show an equative-predicative verb *ā* 'to be' in such construction types as negatives, relative clauses, conditionals and 'eighter-or' type of sentences (cf. Ramakrishna Reddy 1986).

When adjectives occur as predicates, they are inflected for subject agreement by marking the pronominal endings as in the following paradigm of the adjective *gaja* 'big, great'

(7)	*āne gajata*	'I am great'
	āme gajataŋ	'We (excl) are great'
	āme gajataha	'We (incl) are great'
	īne gajati	'You (sg) are great'
	īme gajater	'You (pl) are great'
	evan gajan	'He is great'
	evar gajar	'They (men) are great'
	edel gajdel	'She is great'
	evahiŋ gajahiŋ	'They (women) are great'
	ēd gajadi	'It is great'
	ēv gajane	'They(non-human)are great'

Similar inflectional pattern is noticed with predicate nominals (or nominal predicates). Observe the following inflectional paradigm:

(8)	*āne mī mamata*	'I am your uncle'
	āme tā māmataŋ	'We (excl) are his uncles'
	āme tā māmataha	'We (incl) are his uncles'
	īn ran melti	'You (sg) are a wild peacock'

īme sāri janater	'You are four people'
evan pāTi-n-an	'He is a towns man'
he town he	
evar pāTi-n-ar	'They are townsmen'
they (men)	
edel pāTi-n-del	'She is a townswoman'
evahiŋ pāTi-n-ahiŋ	'They are townswomen'
ēd pāTi-n-di	'It is a townsone'
ēv pāTi-n-ne(v)	'They are townsones'

Predicative adverbials show similar subject agreement pattern, as illustrated below with the spatial adverb *ēba* 'there'

			sg	pl
(9)	IP		*ēbanata*	*ēbanataŋ* (excl)
				ēbanataha (incl)
	IIP		*ēbanati*	*ēnanater*
	IIIP	Male	*ēbanan*	*ēbanar*
		Fem	*ēbandēl*	*ēbanahiŋ*
		Neut	*ēbandi*	*ēbane*

Such a paradigm is noticed with verbal noun occurring in a predicate position. This type of pattern in Dravidian was named as appellative verbs or conjugated nouns by Caldwell, of which Manda is not an exception. Observe the following paradigm of verbal noun derived from the verb *dum* 'to climb'.

(10)	*āne dumtata*	'I am the jumped one'
	āme dumtataŋ	'We (excl) are the jumped ones'
	āme dumtataha	'We (incl) are the jumped ones'
	īne dumtati	'You(sg)are the jumped one'
	īme dumtater	'You(pl)are the jumpedones'
	evan dumtan	'He is the jumped one'
	evar dumtar	'They (men) are the jumped ones'

edel dumdel	'She is the jumped one'
evahiŋ dumtahiŋ	'They (women) are the jumped ones'
ēd dumdi	'It is the jumped one'
ēv dumne	'They (non-human) are the jumped ones'

The pronominal endings on the non-verb predicates exhibit a different pattern from the subject agreement markers of verbal predicate on the following two counts: (i) The verbal predicate neutralizes the distinction, which is found in lexical pronouns, between the third person feminine and neuter gender both in singular as well as plural, whereas the non-verb predicates indicate agreement with all subject-pronouns. (ii) The agreement terminations, as shown below, differ in their shape from those appearing in the verbal predicate as a comparison of (4) with (11) will transparently reveal

(11) Agreement markers on non-verb predicators:

	IP	IIP	IIIP		
			Masc	Fem	Neuter
Singular:	*-ta*	*-ati*	*-an*	*-del*	*-di*
Plural:	*-ataŋ(excl)* *-ataha (incl)*	*-ater*	*-ar*	*-ahiŋ*	*-de/ne*

3. Number marking on nouns

Nouns are basically referring expressions concerned with persons, animals, plants, objects etc. They refer both to the countable as well as non-countable. It is in the realm of countable that we come across an interesting variety of number marking expressions in Manda, wherein phonology as well as pragmatics have their due share and criteria in operation of the system. As an initial premise, nouns in Manda are classified into human versus non-human. Secondly different morphological processes

operate on these two groups of nouns. As in general Dravidian, Manda treats all the nouns referring to non-human entities (including animates) under only one category, namely the neuter. The grammatical category of gender plays a crucial role in number marking in that the dichotomous division of masculine versus feminine (gender) is invoked only with regard to human nouns.

3.1 *Phonological criterion- Syllable-based plural form*

Manda like other Kondh languages (Pengo, Kui, Indi-Awe etc.) employs the criterion of syllable pattern of (non-human) nouns for marking the plurality. For this purpose,, the phonological structure of nouns is interpreted in terms of the number of syllables contained in a particular noun. The nouns are classified into a bipolar system of monosyllabic versus non-monosyllabic (i.e., ± monosyllabic), which latter is variously known as polysyllabic or multisyllabic. All noun roots consisting of monosyllables (irrespective of the fact whether a noun ends with a vowel or a consonant) having the canonical form of (C) (C) V (C) (C), take the suffix *-ke* to indicate plurality. Observe the following examples

	Gloss	Singular	Plural
(12)			
	'Arrow'	*am*	*am-ke*
	'Eye'	*kan*	*kan-ke*
	'Stone'	*kal*	*kal-ke*
	'Fowl	*kuy*	*kuy-ke*
	'Pit'	*kRāy*	*kRāy-ke*
	'Mushroom'	*gūnd*	*gūt-ke*

When we turn to (non-monosyllabic) nouns with poly-syllables, there are two allomorphs of plural morphemes, namely –ŋ and *-iŋ* whose distribution is controlled by the

type of final phoneme with which a nominal root ends. In distributional terms - ŋ occurs after the noun-roots ending in a vowel, and *-iŋ* is suffixed to those that end with a consonant (irrespective of referential semantics of the noun). A look at the following examples will clarify the phenomenon.

-ŋ occurs after nominal roots that end with a vowel

	Gloss	Singular	Plural
(13)	Gloss	Singular	Plural
	'Property'	*arne*	*arne-ŋ*
	'Leaf'	*āki*	*āki-ŋ*
	'Wetland'	*aTla*	*aTla-ŋ*
	'Anklet'	*āndu*	*āndu-ŋ*
	'Subscription'	*ūra*	*ūra-ŋ*
	'Song'	*peNime*	*peNime-ŋ*
	'Foundation'	*varkūNa*	*varkūNa-ŋ*

-iŋ is suffixed to nouns roots ending in a consonant

(14)	Gloss	Singular	Plural
	'Cot'	*kāTe:l*	*kāTēl-iŋ*
	'Butterfly'	*kumRēl*	*kumRēl-iŋ*
	'Tortoise'	*kasim*	*kasim-iŋ*
	'Twig'	*halen*	*halen-iŋ*

On the basis of the above facts of Manda, we may observe that there are three allomorphs indicating plurality on the nouns, namely *–ke* and *-ŋ/iŋ*. Their occurrence is phonologically conditioned in that *-ke* occurs after the monosyllabic nouns, and the latter two occur after polysyllabic nouns; further the final phoneme decides which of them should appear in a given context i.e., *-ŋ* after vowels and *-iŋ* after consonants, which again contributes to word final cluster simplification. Secondly the singular number is unmarked in all the above

examples.

3.2 *Semantic criterion: Kinship and Profession-terms*

The {+Human} nouns pertaining to kinship and occupations (professions) indicate the plural forms in a unique fashion in Manda. At the outset the nouns of these two classes are classified into male and female and subsequently the gender distinction of masculine and feminine. Secondly these are marked separately in plural number, (and sometimes the singular is also marked). Here in Manda we have the following situation:

(15) Kin relations : Male - singular : plural
Female - singular : plural

Profession terms: Male - singular : plural ,
Female - singular : plural

There are exclusive morphs in Manda to indicate the above distinctions (though with some gaps) as can be gathered from the following materials.

Kin-terms referring to human-males

(16)

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'Grandfather'	*aku*	*aku-r*
'His son'	*tāmji*	*tāmji-r*
'Mother's elder sister's husband'	*pemba*	*pemba-r*
'Father's younger brother'	*bābu*	*bābu-r*
'Brother-in-law'	*jāvay*	*jāvay-ar*
'Younger brother -in-law'	*pūdan*	*pūda-r*
'Father'	*aba*	*aba-r*

Note that *-(a)r* is the plural marker with the above group of kinship nouns.

Kin-terms referring to human-females

(17)

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'Mother'	*aya*	*aya-hiŋ*
'Younger sister'	*ēmi*	*ēmi-hiŋ*
'Wife'	*vāṇi*	*vāṇi-hiŋ*
'Spouse's sister'	*hāsu*	*hāsu-hiŋ*
'Daughter'	*gāR*	*gāR-hiŋ*
'Young woman'	*jīpāR*	*jīpā-hiŋ*
'Mother-in-law'	*pūdāR*	*pūdā-hiŋ*

Here the plural marker is *-hiŋ*. The singular is not marked except the last two examples wherein *-a*¤ may be conceived as a singular marker. (This form looks like a cognate of *-āl* 'person or a woman' in Tamil and *ā·a* 'female' in Telugu).

Occupation/professional (castes) nouns referring to human males

(18)

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'Man'	*aNDren*	*aNDr-aŋ*
'Potter'	*kumren*	*kumr-aŋ*
'Tribal man'	*parjen*	*parj-aŋ*
'Manda man'	*maNDen*	*maND-aŋ*
'Domb man'	*Dumen*	*Dum-aŋ*
'Washer man'	*dūben*	*dūb-aŋ*

In the above set the plural is marked by the suffix *-aŋ* while the singular is indicated by *-en*, which latter is a rare unique trait of Manda. However, it may be compared with *avan* 'he' *avange* 'they' of Tamil; and *vāDu* 'he' and *vāLLu* 'they (hum)' of Telugu which can be suffixed to most of the occupational terms.

Occupational terms referring to human females

(19)

Gloss	Singular	Plural
'Potter woman'	*kumrāR*	*kumr-āske*
'Parja woman'	*parjāR*	*parj-āske*
'Manda woman'	*manDāR*	*manD-āske*
'Domb woman'	*DumāR*	*Dum-āske*
'Washer woman'	*dūbāR*	*du:b-āske*

In these sets both the singular and plural numbers are marked by *-āR* and *-āske* respectively. Alternatively the plural morph *-āske* itself can be further divided as consisting of a singular *-āR* followed by the plural suffix *-ke* (which was noticed above with monosyllabic words) i.e., *āR* + *-ke* > *āske* 'women'. It may be pointed out that the final retroflex has undergone voice assimilation to give rise to the plural form.

Number marking on the Manda nouns employs both the phonological and pragmatico-semantic criteria. As an initial premise nouns are classified into (±Human). From the phonological perspective, the syllable structure of nonhuman (neuter) nouns is divided into monosyllabic and polysyllabic. The plurality in monosyllabic nouns is marked by the suffix *-ke,* and the polysyllabic nouns by *-ŋ* or *–iŋ* wherein the former occurs after the nouns ending with a vowel and the latter is suffixed to those words ending in a consonant. Thus these three items show a phonologically conditioned allomorphic distribution, wherein a battery of syllable-based grammatical (or morphological) rules is triggered into action.

The human nouns, on the other hand, adapt a pragmatico-semantic criterion to mark plurality. The

category of gender, in terms of male and female, is invoked and each of these (male-female) is further dichotomised into kinship and occupational terms, by the suffixes *-r*, *-hiŋ*, *-aŋ* and *-āske*, as shown in the table bellow:

Noun					
Human			Non-Human		
	Male	Female	Mono-syllabic	Polysyllabic	
Kinship	*-r*	*-hiŋ*	*-ke*	Vowel ending	Consonant ending
Occupation	*-aŋ*	*-āske*		*-ŋ*	*-iŋ*

4. Person-object agreement

It is a unique characteristic feature of transitive verbs in Manda to incorporate a derivative particle immediately after the verb root whenever the direct or indirect object of a given construction happens to be first and/or second person singular or plural. There is no such derivational marker of agreement if the object (direct or indirect) is a third person. Compare the (a) and (b) instances in the following data

(20) (a) *evan naŋka / maŋka/ niŋka/ miŋka*
he me us you(sg) you (pl)
ār-ta- t -un
call -obj - past - he
'He called me/us/you.'

(b) *evan evanka/ edelka/ evahiŋka/*
he, him her , them (women)
ētka/ēvka ār - t - un
it them (neuter) call past he
'He called him/her/it/them'

(21) (a) *evan naŋka ru hukēr tūs-sa-t-un*
he me one star show -obj-past-he
'He showed me a star'
(b) *evan edelka ru hukēr tūs-t-un*
he her one star show -past-he
'He showed her a star'

The verb conjugation shows that the finite verb in the (a) instances has an extra element *-ta-/-sa* which is absent in the (b) instances. What is the semantic factor correlating with the presence or absence of this formal element? The main difference between the (a) and (b) instances pertains to the semantic nature of the object (direct or indirect) involved. In (20) (a) the direct object refers to the speaker and/or hearer(s) and so does the indirect object in (21) (a), whereas the object in 20(b) has reference to an entity other than the speaker hearer(s). In other words, the speech-act participants of speaker and hearer(s) are given a special status in the grammar of Manda by marking them in the verb whenever they appear in the grammatical function of object. The non-participant object pronouns are unmarked on the verb. This also suggests that Manda grammar treats the speaker and hearer as a single unit in matters of reference in the object position, and the distinction of pronouns into personal and non-personal is semantically oriented phenomenon in the language.

The agreement of speech-act participant is not confined to the direct and indirect object alone. It is found with such other grammatical functions as Place, Goal, Benefactive and Experiencer. Whenever a personal pronoun appears in any of these semantic roles or case relations, the verb automatically indicates it by a derivational suffix.

(22) (a) *hīmNa nā kūNa-ŋa kuh-ta-y*
child my lap on sit past it
'The child sat on my lap.'
(b) *hīmNa edel kūNa-ŋa kuh-i*
child her lap on sit past it
'The child sat on her lap.'

(23) (a) *evan nī gāgaR-ta dum-da-n-un*
he your back on climb future he
'He will climb on your back.'
(b) *evan aya gāgaR-ta dum-n-un*
he mother back on climb future he
'He will climb on the mother's back.'

Here in (22) (a) and (23) (a) the speech-act participants' body-part is the simple location or place of the action identified by the verb and hence marked by the particles –*ta/-da.*

If the destination of a moving entity is a speech-act participant, the Manda verb marks this again by adding the particle to the verb root.

(24) (a) *nā kan-ta tulve rē-da-y*
my eye in dust fall -obj -past -it
'Dust fell in my eyes.'
(b) *evan kan-ta tulve rē-yi*
his eye in dust fall -past -it
'Dust fell in his eyes.'

(25) (a) *veleŋ nā kāl-ta aD-da-n-iŋ*
thorns my foot in break -obj future -they
(lit: Thorns will break in my foot)
'Thorns will pierce my foot.'
(b) *veleŋ evan kāl-ta aD-n-iŋ*

thorns his foot in break -future -they
'Thorns will pierce his foot'

In case an action is carried out for the benefit or pleasure of the speech-act participant, this notion of recipient is also grammaticalised on the verb through this particle.

(26) (a) *even il je-ta-t-un*
he house open -obj -past -he
'He opened the door for me/us/you'.
(b) *éven il je-t-un*
he house open -past -he
'He opened the door'.

Whenever a speech-act participant undergoes a physical or emotional strain or experience, the Manda verb encapsulates the notion in its verb morphology.

(27) (a) *inelïŋ naŋka kapRa nū-da-y*
yesterday me-to head pain -obj -past -it
(lit: Yesterday head ached to me)
'I had a head-ache yesterday'.
(b) *inelïŋ evanka kapRa nū-yi*
yesterday him to head pain -past -it
'He had a head-ache yesterday'

(28) (a) *niŋka aŋlaŋ je-ta-n-iŋ-ba*
you to yawnings occur -obj-future-they-are
(lit: yawnings are happening to you)
'You are yawning).
(b) *evanka aŋlaŋ je-n-iŋ-ba*
him to yawnings occur-future-they-are
'He is yawning'.

The incorporation of speech-act participant reference on to the verb is a common, but a peculiar trait of the Kondh languages. In his analysis of Kui, Winfield (1928: 101-111) christened this trait as 'first and second person transition particle,' Fitzgerald (1913: 40-91) labeled it as 'direct' construction in Kuvi; while Burrow and Bhattacharya (1970: 76-82) prefer to call it a 'special base' focusing on the verb conjugation. Emeneau's suggestion of 'personal object base' seems to be a more revealing label (1985:20)

5. Plural action (or verbal number) agreement

Jespersen (1924: 210) talks of the plural of the verbal idea and elaborates it as "The real plural of the verb is what in some languages is expressed by the so-called frequentative or iterative – sometimes a separate form of the verb which is often classed with aspect system of the language in question." While nominal number relates to entities, the verbal number relates to events, as it is a number related to the semantics of the verb indicating a multiple event. Verbal number would be expressed on the verb root or by the stem modification to indicate adverbial expressions like twice, many times, or several occasions etc., (Corbett 2000)

There are certain modal and aspectual adverbial notions such as repetition, habitual, intensity, frequency etc., which are morphologised in the structure of the main verb by affixing *-pa* or *-ba* to the root before the tense marker. Observe (b) instances in the following:

(29) (a) *tā vāNika* *ven-n-un*
his wife acc ask-fut-he
'He asks his wife'

(b) *tā vāNika ven-ba-n-un*
many times
'He asks his wife repeatedly'

(30) (a) *ru pēNDa kāNDiŋka pak-t-eri*
one bundle bamboos acc split-past-they
'They split a bundle of bamboos'
(b) *ru pēNDa kāNDiŋka pak-pa-t-eri*
many times
'They split a bundle of bamboos many times'

(31) (a) *bēŋTaŋ hūTā-t-iŋ*
frogs enter-past-they
'The frogs entered'
(b) *bēŋTaŋ hūTā-ba-t-iŋ*
frogs enter many-past-they
'The frogs entered many holes'

(32) (a) *evan ēy guh-t-un*
he water swallow-past-he
'He swallowed water'
(b) *evan ēy guh-pa-t-un*
he water swallow-many-past-he
'He swallowed a lot of water(many times)'

Regarding this unique phenomenon in Kui, Winfield (1928:142) observes that "Special forms of the verb are sometimes used to express the following modes of plural action. One person doing a number of things. One person doing one thing many times." Morphologisation of such modal and aspectual notions is a unique characteristic of Manda and other Kondh languages.

6. Distal action agreement

In deictic studies the location of the speaker at the time of speech act is identified as the deictic centre and the identification of persons, objects, events, processes or

actions is carried out with reference to the centre (Lyons 1977). In Manda there is an interesting way of specifying and relating the semantic notion of action or process (identified by the verb) with the location of the conversational interlocutors. If an event, process or action takes place in the proximity of the participants, it is left unmarked on the verb. But whenever an action is carried out at a location away from the vicinity of speaker-hearer, this distal action is morphologised in the verb root by a suffixal particle *-ka* or *-ga*. For this purpose the entire physical world is perceptualised as and divided into proximate *ība* 'here' versus distal *ūba* and *ēba* 'there'. The movement from *ība* to *ēba* to perform an action, or reference to an action 'there' i.e., direction of an event is uniquely encoded on the verb. Observe the following (a) and (b) constructions.

(33) (a) *evan ība ru il ruh-t-un*
he here one house build-past-he
'He built a house here'

(b) *evan ēba ru il ruh-ka-t-un*
build there –past-he
'He (went and) built a house there'

(34) (a) *Dumen pūn hendra mulkaŋ-ka hī-n-un*
The domb new cloth landlords to give-fut-he
'The Domb gives new cloths to landlords'

(b) *Dumen pūn hendra mulkaŋ-ka hī-ka-n-un*
'The Domb (moves and) gives new cloths to landlords there'

(35) (a) *mība minke Ranj-n-un*
your father fish pl splash-fut-he
'Your father will splash (water) for fish'

(b) *mība minke Ranj-ga-n-un*
splash-there-fut-he
'Your father (moves and) splashes water there for fish'

In the (b) instances of (33) to (35) the derivative affixes *–ka*, *-ga* attached to the root indicate an earlier movement on the part of the performer of action (i.e., subject) indicated by the main verb, before carrying out the main act. Winfield (1928: 111-113) observes "The particle *–ka* is used to express the idea of the motion "going" which precedes the action of the verb to which the particle is attached". He christened this element as "motion particle", which is followed by the later scholars working on the Kondh languages. In fact, this particle expresses the pragmatics of place-deixis in that it stands for locational reference to the deictic centre sustained by speech act interlocutors. Any event occurring outside the deictic centre is perceived as distinct by the Kondh native speakers and this pragmatic phenomenon of location and movement is encapsulated into the agreement morphosyntax of these languages, which is manifested by *-ka/-ga*. The co-occurrence of these place deictics with spatial adverb of distance (as opposed to proximate) namely, *ēba* 'there non-visible' transparently vouches for the explanation suggested above.

7. Conclusion

The morphosyntax of the phenomenon of agreement and its underlying semantic postulates are portrayed here in some detail. Unlike general Dravidian, the Kondh languages exhibit several interesting factors of agreement. However, the phenomenon deserves a more detailed exploration in future. The above attempt shows the interaction of linguistic levels and the involvement of phonology to pragmatics through morphology, syntax and semantics. Agreement is anchored at the semantico-pragmatic level, which is expressed through syntax, morphology and phonology.

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